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ADONIS

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF
ORIENTAL RELIGION

BY

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CONTENTS

	PAGES
CHAPTER I —THE MYTH OF ADONIS .	I-8
Changes of the seasons explained by the life and death of gods, p 1, magical ceremonies to revive the divine energies, 2, prevalence of these ceremonies in Western Asia and Egypt, 4, Tammuz or Adonis in Babylon, 4-7, Adonis in Greek mythology, 7-8.	
CHAPTER II —ADONIS IN SYRIA .	9-22
Adonis and Astarte worshipped at Byblus, the kingdom of Cinyras, 9, divinity of Semitic kings, 10, kings named Adonis, 11, "sacred men," 12, divinity of Hebrew kings, 12, the Baal and Baalath the sources of fertility, 18, personation of the Baal by the king, 19, Cinyras, king of Byblus, 19, Aphaca and the vale of the Adonis, 20	
CHAPTER III —ADONIS IN CYPRUS	22-41
Phoenician colonies in Cyprus, 22, kingdom of Paphos, 23, sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, 23, the Aphrodite of Paphos a Phoenician or aboriginal deity, 24, her comical image, 24, sacred prostitution in the worship of the Paphian Aphrodite and of other Asiatic goddesses, 25, the Asiatic Mother Goddess a personification of all the reproductive energies of nature, 27, her worship reflects a period of sexual communism, 28, the daughters of Cinyras, 29, the Paphian dynasty of the Cinyrads, 29-30, incest of Cinyras with his daughter Myrrha and birth of Adonis, 30, suggested explanation of legends of royal incest, 30, the Flamen Dialis and his Flaminica at Rome, 31, Indian parallels, 32-35, Cinyras beloved by Aphrodite, 35, Pygmalion and Aphrodite, 36, the Phoenician kings of Cyprus and their sons the hereditary lovers of the goddess, 36, the father and mother of a god, 37, Cinyras as a musician, 38, the uses of music in religion, 38, traditions as to the death of Cinyras, 41	

CHAPTER IV — SACRED MEN AND WOMEN

- § 1 *An Alternative Theory*, pp 42-45 — Theory of the secular origin of sacred prostitution in Western Asia, 42, it fails to account for the facts, 42
- § 2 *Sacred Women in India*, pp 45-49 — The dancing-girls of Southern India are at once prostitutes and wives of the god, 45
- § 3 *Sacred Men and Women in West Africa*, pp 49-54 — Among the Ewe peoples the sacred prostitutes are regarded as the wives of the god, 49, human wives of serpent gods, 50-52, sacred men and women in West Africa supposed to be possessed by the deity, 52
- § 4 *Sacred Women in Western Asia*, pp 54-56 — Sacred prostitutes of Western Asia probably viewed as possessed by the deity and married to him, 54, wives of the god in Babylon and Egypt, 55
- § 5 *Sacred Men in Western Asia*, pp 56-61 — The sacred men (*kedeshim*) of Western Asia may have been regarded as possessed by the deity and representing him, 56, the prophets, 57, "holy men" in modern Syria, 59
- § 6 *Sons of God*, pp 61-64 — Belief that men and women may be the sons and daughters of a god, 61, sons of the serpent-god, 62
- § 7 *Reincarnation of the Dead*, pp 64-86 — Belief that the dead come to life as serpents, 64, reincarnation of the dead in America, Africa, and India, 71, belief in the Virgin Birth among the savages of New Guinea, Melanesia, and Australia, 76-86
- § 8 *Sacred Stocks and Stones among the Semites*, pp 86-88 — Procreative virtue apparently ascribed to sacred stocks and stones among the Semites, 86, the excavations at Gezer, 87

CHAPTER V — THE BURNING OF MELCARTH

89-94

Semitic custom of sacrificing a member of the royal family, 89, the burning of Melcarth at Tyre, 89, the burning of Melcarth at Gades, 91, the burning of a god or goddess at Carthage, 92, the fire-walk at Tyre and at Castabala, 92, burnt sacrifice of King Hamilcar, 93, the death of Hercules a Greek version of the burning of Melcarth, 94

- CHAPTER VI — THE BURNING OF SANDAN . . . 95-140
- § 1 *The Baal of Tarsus*, pp 95-97 — The Tyrian Melcarth in Cyprus, 95, the lion-slaying god, 95, the Baal of Tarsus an Oriental god of corn and grapes, 96
- § 2 *The God of Ibreez*, pp 97-100. — Counterpart of the Baal of Tarsus at Ibreez in Cappadocia, 97, the god of Ibreez a god of corn and grapes, 98, fertility of Ibreez, 99, the horned god, 100
- § 3 *Sandan of Tarsus*, pp 101-103 — The god of Ibreez a Hittite deity, 101, the burning of Sandan or Hercules at Tarsus, 102, Sandan of Tarsus an Asiatic god with the symbols of the lion and double axe, 103
- § 4 *The Gods of Boghaz-Keui*, pp 103-114 — Boghaz-Keui the ancient capital of a Hittite kingdom in Cappadocia, 103, the rock-sculptures in the sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui, the two processions, 105, the lion-god, 106, the god and his priest, 107, the great Asiatic goddess and her consort, 108, the Father God of the thundering sky, 109-110, the Mother Goddess, 110, the divine Son and lover of the goddess, 111, the mystery of the lion-god, 111, the Sacred Marriage of the god and goddess, 112, traces of mother-kin among the Hittites, 113
- § 5 *Sandan and Baal at Tarsus*, pp 114-115 — Sandan at Tarsus apparently a son of Baal, as Hercules of Zeus, 114
- § 6 *Priestly Kings of Olba*, pp 115-122 — Priests of Sandan or Hercules at Tarsus, 115, kings of Cilicia related to Sandan, 116, priestly kings of Olba bearing the names of Teucer and Ajax, 116, the Teucrids of Salamis in Cyprus, 116, burnt sacrifices of human victims at Salamis and traces of a similar custom elsewhere, 117-118, the priestly Teucers of Olba perhaps representatives of a native god Tark, 118, Western or Rugged Cilicia, 119, the Cilician pirates, 120, the gorges of Cilicia, 121, the site and ruins of Olba, 121, the temple of Olbian Zeus, 122
- § 7 *The God of the Corycian Cave*, pp 122-132 — Limestone caverns of Western Cilicia, 123, the city of Corycus, 123, the Corycian cave, 123, the priests of Corycian Zeus, 125, the cave of the giant

Lyones
 Typhon, 126, battle of Zeus and Typhon, 127, fossil bones of extinct animals a source of tales of giants, 127, chasm of Olbian Zeus at Kanyteldeis, 129, the god of these chasms called Zeus by the Greeks, but probably a native god of fertility, 129, analogy of these caverns to Ibreez and the vale of the Adonis, 130, the two gods of Olba perhaps a father and son, 130

- § 8 *Cilician Goddesses*, pp 132-139 — Goddesses less prominent than gods in Cilician religion, 132, the goddess 'Atteh the partner of Baal at Tarsus, 132, the lion-goddess and the bull-god, 133-134, the old goddess in later times the Fortune of the City, 134, the Phoenician god El and his wife at Mallus, 135, assimilation of native Oriental deities to Greek divinities, 136, Sarpedonian Artemis, 137, the goddess Perasia at Hieropolis-Castabala, 137, the fire-walk in the worship of Perasia, 138, insensibility to pain a mark of inspiration, 138
- § 9 *The Burning of Cilician Gods*, p 140 — Interpretation of the fiery rites of Sandan and Perasia, 140.

CHAPTER VII — SARDANAPALUS AND HERCULES 141-154

- § 1 *The Burning of Sardanapalus*, pp 141-142 — Tarsus said to have been founded by Sardanapalus, 141, his legendary death in the fire, 142, historical foundation of the legend, 142
- § 2 *The Burning of Croesus*, pp 143-147 — Improbability of the story that Cylus intended to burn Croesus, 143, older and truer tradition that Croesus attempted to burn himself, 144, death of Semiramis in the fire, 145, "great burnings" for Jewish kings, 145
- § 3 *Purification by Fire*, pp 147-148 — Death by fire a mode of apotheosis, 147, fire supposed to purge away the mortal parts of men, leaving the immortal, 147
- § 4 *The Divinity of Lydian Kings*, pp 149-151 — Descent of Lydian kings from Hercules, the god of the double axe and the lion, 149, Lydian kings held responsible for the weather and crops, 150, the lion-god of Lydia, 184, identity of the Lydian and Cilician Hercules, 151

- § 5 *Hittite Gods at Tarsus and Sardes*, pp 151-152 —
The Cilician and Lydian Hercules (Sandan or
Sandon) apparently a Hittite deity, 151
- § 6 *The Resurrection of Tylon*, pp 152-153 —Death and
resurrection of the Lydian hero Tylon, 152, feast
of the Golden Flower at Sardes, 153

CHAPTER VIII —VOLCANIC RELIGION 154-185

- § 1 *The Burning of a God*, pp 154-155 —The custom
of burning a god perhaps intended to recruit his
divine energies, 154
- § 2 *The Volcanic Region of Cappadocia*, pp 155-157 —
The custom of burning a god perhaps related to
volcanic phenomena, 155, the great extinct
volcano Mount Argæus in Cappadocia, 156
- § 3 *Fire-Worship in Cappadocia*, pp. 157-159 —Persian
fire-worship in Cappadocia, 157, worship of
natural fires which burn perpetually, 158
- § 4 *The Burnt Land of Lydia*, pp 159-160 —The Burnt
Land of Lydia, 159, its soil favourable to the
cultivation of the vine, 160
- § 5 *The Earthquake God*, pp 160-167 —Earthquakes
in Asia Minor, 160, worship of Poseidon, the
earthquake god, 161, Spartan propitiation of
Poseidon during an earthquake, 161, East Indian
and other modes of stopping an earthquake, 162-
166, religious and moral effects of earthquakes,
165, the god of the sea and of the earthquake
naturally conceived as the same, 166
- § 6 *The Worship of Mephitic Vapours*, pp 167-170 —
Poisonous mephitic vapours, 167, places of Pluto
or Charon, 168, the valley of Amsanctus, 168,
sanctuaries of Charon or Pluto in Caria and Lydia
or Phrygia, 170
- § 7 *The Worship of Hot Springs*, pp 170-179 —The hot
springs and petrified cascades of Hierapolis, 170-
172, Hercules the patron of hot springs, 172,
hot springs of Hercules at Thermopylae and
Aedepsus, 173-176, reasons for the association
of Hercules with hot springs, 176, the hot springs
of Callirrhoe in Moab, 177-179
- § 8 *The Worship of Volcanoes in other Lands*, pp 179-
185 —The worship of the great volcano Kirauea
in Hawaii, 179-182, sacrifices to volcanoes in

America, Java, and Sicily, 182-184, no evidence that the kings and gods burnt in Asia were sacrificed to volcanoes, 184

CHAPTER IX —THE RITUAL OF ADONIS . 186-196

Results of the preceding inquiry, 186, festivals of the death and resurrection of Adonis, 187, the festival at Alexandria, 187, the festival at Byblus, 187, the anemone and the red rose the flowers of Adonis, 188, festivals of Adonis at Athens and Antioch, 188, resemblance of these rites to Indian and European ceremonies, 189, the death and resurrection of Adonis a myth of the decay and revival of vegetation, 189, Tammuz or Adonis as a corn-spirit bruised and ground in a mill, 191, the mourning for Adonis interpreted as a harvest rite, 192, Adonis probably a spirit of wild fruits before he became a spirit of the cultivated corn, 193, propitiation of the corn-spirit perhaps fused with the worship of the dead, 193, the festival of the dead a festival of flowers, 194

CHAPTER X —THE GARDENS OF ADONIS 197-218

Pots of corn, herbs, and flowers called the Gardens of Adonis, 197, these "gardens" charms to promote the growth of vegetation, 197, the throwing of the "gardens" into water a rain-charm, 197, parallel customs of wetting the corn at harvest or sowing, 197-199, "gardens of Adonis" in India, 200-204, "gardens of Adonis" on St John's Day in Sardinia and Sicily, 204, St John perhaps a substitute for Adonis, 206, custom of bathing on the Eve or Day of St John (Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day), 206-209, heathen origin of the custom, 209, Midsummer festival of St John formed perhaps by the union of Oriental and northern elements, 209, midsummer fires and midsummer pairs, 210, divination by plants at midsummer, 212, in Sicily "gardens of Adonis" sown in spring as well as at midsummer, 213, resemblance of Easter ceremonies to rites of Adonis, 214-216, the Christian festival of Easter perhaps grafted on a festival of Adonis, 216, worship of Adonis at Bethlehem and Antioch, 217, the Star of Salvation, 217

CHAPTER I

THE MYTH OF ADONIS

THE spectacle of the great changes which annually pass over the face of the earth has powerfully impressed the minds of men in all ages, and stirred them to meditate on the causes of transformations so vast and wonderful. Their curiosity has not been purely disinterested, for even the savage cannot fail to perceive how intimately his own life is bound up with the life of nature, and how the same processes which freeze the stream and strip the earth of vegetation menace him with extinction. At a certain stage of development men seem to have imagined that the means of averting the threatened calamity were in their own hands, and that they could hasten or retard the flight of the seasons by magic art. Accordingly they performed ceremonies and recited spells to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, animals to multiply, and the fruits of the earth to grow. In course of time the slow advance of knowledge, which has dispelled so many cherished illusions, convinced at least the more thoughtful portion of mankind that the alternations of summer and winter, of spring and autumn, were not merely the result of their own magical rites, but that some deeper cause, some mightier power, was at work behind the shifting scenes of nature. They now pictured to themselves the growth and decay of vegetation, the birth and death of living creatures, as effects of the waxing or waning strength of divine beings, of gods and goddesses, who were born and died, who married and begot children, on the pattern of human life.

Thus the old magical theory of the universe was displaced, or rather supplemented, by a religious theory. For although men now attributed the annual cycle of change primarily to corresponding changes in their deities, they still thought that by performing certain magical rites they could aid the god, who was the principle of life, in his struggle with the opposing principle of death. They imagined that they could recruit his failing energies and even raise him from the dead. The ceremonies which they observed for this purpose were in substance a dramatic representation of the natural processes which they wished to facilitate, for it is a familiar tenet of magic that you can produce any desired effect by merely imitating it. And as they now explained the fluctuations of growth and decay, of reproduction and dissolution, by the marriage, the death, and the rebirth or revival of the gods, their religious or rather magical dramas turned in great measure on these themes. They set forth the fruitful union of the powers of fertility, the sad death of one at least of the divine partners, and his joyful resurrection. Thus a religious theory was blended with a magical practice. The combination is familiar in history. Indeed, few religions have ever succeeded in wholly extricating themselves from the old trammels of magic. The inconsistency of acting on two opposite principles, however it may vex the soul of the philosopher, rarely troubles the common man, indeed he is seldom even aware of it. His affair is to act, not to analyse the motives of his action. If mankind had always been logical and wise, history would not be a long chronicle of folly and crime.¹

¹ As in the present volume I am concerned with the beliefs and practices of Orientals, I may quote the following passage from one who has lived long in the East and knows it well. "The Oriental mind is free from the trammels of logic. It is a literal fact that the Oriental mind can accept and believe two opposite things at the same time. We find fully qualified and even learned Indian doctors practising Greek medicine,

Of the changes which the seasons bring with them, the most striking within the temperate zone are those which affect vegetation. The influence of the seasons on animals, though great, is not nearly so manifest. Hence it is natural that in the magical dramas designed to dispel winter and bring back spring the emphasis should be laid on vegetation, and that trees and plants should figure in them more prominently than beasts and birds. Yet the two sides of life, the vegetable and the animal, were not dissociated in the minds of those who observed the ceremonies. Indeed they commonly believed that the tie between the animal and the vegetable world was even closer than it really is, hence they often combined the dramatic representation of reviving plants

as well as English medicine, and enforcing sanitary restrictions to which their own houses and families are entirely strangers. We find astronomers who can predict eclipses, and yet who believe that eclipses are caused by a dragon swallowing the sun. We find holy men who are credited with miraculous powers and with close communion with the Deity, who live in drunkenness and immorality, and who are capable of elaborate frauds on others. To the Oriental mind, a thing must be incredible to command a ready belief" ("Riots and Unrest in the Punjab, from a correspondent," *The Times Weekly Edition*, May 24, 1907, p. 326). Again, speaking of the people of the Lower Congo, an experienced missionary describes their religious ideas as "chaotic in the extreme and impossible to reduce to any systematic order. The same person will tell you at different times that the departed spirit goes to the nether regions, or to a dark forest, or to the moon, or to the sun. There is no coherence in their beliefs, and their ideas about cosmogony and the future are very nebulous. Although they believe in punishment after death their faith is so hazy that it has lost all its deterrent force. If in the following pages a lack of logical unity is observed, it must be put to the debit of the native mind, as that lack of logical unity really represents the mistiness of their views." See Rev. John H. Weeks, "Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People," *Folk-lore*, xx (1909), pp. 54 sq. Unless we allow for this innate capacity of the human mind to entertain contradictory beliefs at the same time, we shall in vain attempt to understand the history of thought in general and of religion in particular.

with a real or a dramatic union of the sexes for the purpose of furthering at the same time and by the same act the multiplication of fruits, of animals, and of men. To them the principle of life and fertility, whether animal or vegetable, was one and indivisible. To live and to cause to live, to eat food and to beget children, these were the primary wants of men in the past, and they will be the primary wants of men in the future so long as the world lasts. Other things may be added to enrich and beautify human life, but unless these wants are first satisfied, humanity itself must cease to exist. These two things, therefore, food and children, were what men chiefly sought to procure by the performance of magical rites for the regulation of the seasons.

Nowhere, apparently, have these rites been more widely and solemnly celebrated than in the lands which border the Eastern Mediterranean. Under the names of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead. In name and detail the rites varied from place to place; in substance they were the same. The supposed death and resurrection of this Oriental deity, a god of many names but of essentially one nature, are the subject of the present inquiry. We begin with Tammuz or Adonis.

The worship of Adonis was practised by the Semitic peoples of Babylonia and Syria, and the Greeks borrowed it from them as early as the seventh century before Christ. The true name of the deity was Tammuz; the appellation of Adonis is merely the Semitic *Adon*, "lord," a title of honour by which his worshippers addressed him. In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament the same name *Adonai*, originally perhaps *Adoni*, "my lord," is often applied to Jehovah. But the Greeks through a misunderstanding

ing converted the title of honour into a proper name. While Tammuz or his equivalent Adonis enjoyed a wide and lasting popularity among peoples of the Semitic stock, there are grounds for thinking that his worship originated with a race of other blood and other speech, the Sumerians, who in the dawn of history inhabited the flat alluvial plain at the head of the Persian Gulf and created the civilization which was afterwards called Babylonian. The origin and affinities of this people are unknown, in physical type and language they differed from all their neighbours, and their isolated position, wedged in between alien races, presents to the student of mankind problems of the same sort as the isolation of the Basques and Etruscans among the Aryan peoples of Europe. An ingenious, but unproved, hypothesis would represent them as immigrants driven from central Asia by that gradual desiccation which for ages seems to have been converting once fruitful lands into a waste and burying the seats of ancient civilization under a sea of shifting sand. Whatever their place of origin may have been, it is certain that in Southern Babylonia the Sumerians attained at a very early period to a considerable pitch of civilization, for they tilled the soil, reared cattle, built cities, dug canals, and even invented a system of writing, which their Semitic neighbours in time borrowed from them. In the pantheon of this ancient people Tammuz appears to have been one of the oldest, though certainly not one of the most important figures. His name consists of a Sumerian phrase meaning "true son" or, in a fuller form, "true son of the deep water," and among the inscribed Sumerian texts which have survived the wreck of empires are a number of hymns in his honour, which were written down not later than about two thousand years before our era, but were almost certainly composed at a much earlier time.

In the religious literature of Babylonia Tammuz

appears as the youthful spouse or lover of Ishtar, the great mother goddess, the embodiment of the reproductive energies of nature. The references to their connexion with each other in myth and ritual are both fragmentary and obscure, but we gather from them that every year Tammuz was believed to die, passing away from the cheerful earth to the gloomy subterranean world, and that every year his divine mistress journeyed in quest of him "to the land from which there is no returning, to the house of darkness, where dust lies on door and bolt." During her absence the passion of love ceased to operate—men and beasts alike forgot to reproduce their kinds—all life was threatened with extinction. So intimately bound up with the goddess were the sexual functions of the whole animal kingdom that without her presence they could not be discharged. A messenger of the great god Ea was accordingly despatched to rescue the goddess on whom so much depended. The stern queen of the infernal regions, Allatu or Eresh-Kigal by name, reluctantly allowed Ishtar to be sprinkled with the Water of Life and to depart, in company probably with her lover Tammuz, that the two might return together to the upper world, and that with their return all nature might revive.

Laments for the departed Tammuz are contained in several Babylonian hymns, which liken him to plants that quickly fade. He is

*"A tamarisk that in the garden has drunk no water,
Whose crown in the field has brought forth no blossom
A willow that rejoiced not by the water-course,
A willow whose roots were torn up
A herb that in the garden had drunk no water"*

His death appears to have been annually mourned, to the shrill music of flutes, by men and women about midsummer in the month named after him, the month of Tammuz. The dirges were seemingly chanted over an effigy of the dead god, which was

washed with pure water, anointed with oil, and clad in a red robe, while the fumes of incense rose into the air, as if to stir his dormant senses by their pungent fragrance and wake him from the sleep of death. In one of these dirges, inscribed *Lament of the Flutes for Tammuz*, we seem still to hear the voices of the singers chanting the sad refrain and to catch, like far-away music, the wailing notes of the flutes —

*"At his vanishing away she lifts up a lament,
 'Oh my child!' at his vanishing away she lifts up a
 lament,
 'My Damu!' at his vanishing away she lifts up a lament
 'My enchanter and priest!' at his vanishing away she
 lifts up a lament,
 At the shining cedar, rooted in a spacious place,
 In Eanna, above and below, she lifts up a lament
 Like the lament that a house lifts up for its master, lifts she
 up a lament,
 Like the lament that a city lifts up for its lord, lifts she up
 a lament
 Her lament is the lament for a herb that grows not in the bed,
 Her lament is the lament for the corn that grows not in the
 ear
 Her chamber is a possession that brings not forth a possession,
 A weary woman, a weary child, forspent
 Her lament is for a great river, where no willows grow,
 Her lament is for a field, where corn and herbs grow not
 Her lament is for a pool, where fishes grow not
 Her lament is for a thicket of reeds, where no reeds grow
 Her lament is for woods, where tamarisks grow not
 Her lament is for a wilderness where no cypresses (?) grow
 Her lament is for the depth of a garden of trees, where honey
 and wine grow not
 Her lament is for meadows, where no plants grow
 Her lament is for a palace, where length of life grows not"*

The tragical story and the melancholy rites of Adonis are better known to us from the descriptions of Greek writers than from the fragments of Babylonian literature or the brief reference of the prophet Ezekiel, who saw the women of Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz at the north gate of the temple. Mirrored in the glass of Greek mythology, the Oriental deity appears as a comely youth beloved by Aphrodite

In his infancy the goddess hid him in a chest, which she gave in charge to Persephone, queen of the nether world. But when Persephone opened the chest and beheld the beauty of the babe, she refused to give him back to Aphrodite, though the goddess of love went down herself to hell to ransom her dear one from the power of the grave. The dispute between the two goddesses of love and death was settled by Zeus, who decreed that Adonis should abide with Persephone in the under world for one part of the year, and with Aphrodite in the upper world for another part. At last the fair youth was killed in hunting by a wild boar, or by the jealous Ares, who turned himself into the likeness of a boar in order to compass the death of his rival. Bitterly did Aphrodite lament her loved and lost Adonis. The strife between the divine rivals for the possession of Adonis appears to be depicted on an Etruscan mirror. The two goddesses, identified by inscriptions, are stationed on either side of Jupiter, who occupies the seat of judgment and lifts an admonitory finger as he looks sternly towards Persephone. Overcome with grief, the goddess of love buries her face in her mantle, while her pertinacious rival, grasping a branch in one hand, points with the other at a closed coffer, which probably contains the youthful Adonis. In this form of the myth, the contest between Aphrodite and Persephone for the possession of Adonis clearly reflects the struggle between Ishtar and Allatu in the land of the dead, while the decision of Zeus that Adonis is to spend one part of the year under ground and another part above ground is merely a Greek version of the annual disappearance and reappearance of Tammuz.

CHAPTER II

ADONIS IN SYRIA

THE myth of Adonis was localized and his rites celebrated with much solemnity at two places in Western Asia. One of these was Byblus on the coast of Syria, the other was Paphos in Cyprus. Both were great seats of the worship of Aphrodite, or rather of her Semitic counterpart, Astarte, and of both, if we accept the legends, Cinyras, the father of Adonis, was king. Of the two cities Byblus was the more ancient, indeed it claimed to be the oldest city in Phœnicia, and to have been founded in the early ages of the world by the great god El, whom Greeks and Romans identified with Cronus and Saturn respectively. However that may have been, in historical times it ranked as a holy place, the religious capital of the country, the Mecca or Jerusalem of the Phœnicians. The city stood on a height beside the sea, and contained a great sanctuary of Astarte, where, in the midst of a spacious open court, surrounded by cloisters and approached from below by staircases, rose a tall cone or obelisk, the holy image of the goddess. In this sanctuary the rites of Adonis were celebrated. Indeed the whole city was sacred to him, and the river Nahr Ibrahim, which falls into the sea a little to the south of Byblus, bore in antiquity the name of Adonis. This was the kingdom of Cinyras. From the earliest to the latest times the city appears to have been ruled by kings, assisted, perhaps by a senate or council of elders. The first of the kings of whom we have historical evidence was a certain Zekar-baal. He reigned about

a century before Solomon, yet from that dim past his figure stands out strangely fresh and lifelike in the journal of an Egyptian merchant or official named Wen-Ammon, which has fortunately been preserved in a papyrus. This man spent some time with the king at Byblus, and received from him, in return for rich presents, a supply of timber felled in the forests of Lebanon. Another king of Byblus, who bore the name of Sibitti-baal, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III., king of Assyria, about the year 739 B.C. Further, from an inscription of the fifth or fourth century before our era we learn that a king of Byblus, by name Yehaw-melech, son of Yehar-baal, and grandson of Adom-melech or Uri-melech, dedicated a pillared portico with a carved work of gold and a bronze altar to the goddess, whom he worshipped under the name of Baalath Gebal, that is, the female Baal of Byblus.

The names of these kings suggest that they claimed affinity with their god Baal or Moloch, for Moloch is only a corruption of *melech*, that is, "king." Such a claim at all events appears to have been put forward by many other Semitic kings. The early monarchs of Babylon were worshipped as gods in their lifetime. Mesha, king of Moab, perhaps called himself the son of his god Kemosh. Among the Aramean sovereigns of Damascus, mentioned in the Bible, we find more than one Ben-hadad, that is, "son of the god Hadad," the chief male deity of the Syrians, and Josephus tells us that down to his own time, in the first century of our era, Ben-hadad I, whom he calls simply Adad, and his successor, Hazael, continued to be worshipped as gods by the people of Damascus, who held processions daily in their honour. Some of the kings of Edom seem to have gone a step farther and identified themselves with the god in their lifetime, at all events they bore his name Hadad without any qualification. King Bar-rekub, who reigned over Samal in North-Western Syria in

the time of Tiglath-pileser (745-727 B C), appears from his name to have reckoned himself a son of Rekub-el, the god to whose favour he deemed himself indebted for the kingdom. The kings of Tyre traced their descent from Baal, and apparently professed to be gods in their own person. Several of them bore names which are partly composed of the names of Baal and Astarte, one of them bore the name of Baal pure and simple. The Baal whom they personated was no doubt Melcarth, "the king of the city," as his name signifies, the great god whom the Greeks identified with Hercules, for the equivalence of the Baal of Tyre both to Melcarth and to Hercules is placed beyond the reach of doubt by a bilingual inscription, in Phoenician and Greek, which was found in Malta.

In like manner the kings of Byblus may have assumed the style of Adonis, for Adonis was simply the divine Adon or "lord" of the city, a title which hardly differs in sense from Baal ("master") and Melech ("king"). This conjecture would be confirmed if one of the kings of Byblus actually bore, as Renan believed, the name of Adom-melech, that is, Adonis Melech, the Lord King. But, unfortunately, the reading of the inscription in which the name occurs is doubtful. Some of the old Canaanite kings of Jerusalem appear to have played the part of Adonis in their lifetime, if we may judge from their names, Adoni-bezek and Adoni-zedek, which are divine rather than human titles. Adoni-zedek means "lord of righteousness," and is therefore equivalent to Melchizedek, that is, "king of righteousness," the title of that mysterious king of Salem and priest of God Most High, who seems to have been neither more nor less than one of these same Canaanitish kings of Jerusalem. Thus if the old priestly kings of Jerusalem regularly played the part of Adonis, we need not wonder that in later times the women of Jerusalem used to weep for Tammuz, that is, for

Adonis, at the north gate of the temple In doing so they may only have been continuing a custom which had been observed in the same place by the Canaanites long before the Hebrews invaded the land Perhaps the "sacred men," as they were called, who lodged within the walls of the temple at Jerusalem down almost to the end of the Jewish kingdom, may have acted the part of the living Adonis to the living Astarte of the women At all events we know that in the cells of these strange clergy women wove garments for the *asherim*, the sacred poles which stood beside the altar and which appear to have been by some regarded as embodiments of Astarte¹ Certainly these "sacred men" must have discharged some function which was deemed religious in the temple at Jerusalem, and we can hardly doubt that the prohibition to bring the wages of prostitution into the house of God, which was published at the very same time that the men were expelled from the temple, was directed against an existing practice In Palestine as in other Semitic lands the hire of sacred prostitutes was probably dedicated to the deity as one of his regular dues he took tribute of men and women as of flocks and herds, of fields and vineyards and oliveyards

But if Jerusalem had been from of old the seat of a dynasty of spiritual potentates or Grand Lamas, who held the keys of heaven and were revered far

¹ The *ashērah* (singular of *ashērim*) was certainly of wood (Judges vi 26) it seems to have been a tree stripped of its branches and planted in the ground beside an altar, whether of Jehovah or of other gods (Deuteronomy xvi 21, Jeremiah vii 2) That the *ashērah* was regarded as a goddess, the female partner of Baal, appears from 1 Kings xviii 19, 2 Kings xxi 3, xxiii 4, and that this goddess was identified with Ashtoreth (Astarte) may be inferred from a comparison of Judges ii 13 with Judges iii 7 Yet, on the other hand, the pole or tree seems by others to have been viewed as a male power (Jeremiah ii 27, see below, pp 107 sqq), and the identification of the *ashērah* with Astarte has been doubted or disputed by some eminent modern scholars

and wide as kings and gods in one, we can easily understand why the upstart David chose it for the capital of the new kingdom which he had won for himself at the point of the sword. The central position and the natural strength of the virgin fortress need not have been the only or the principal inducements which decided the politic monarch to transfer his throne from Hebron to Jerusalem. By serving himself heir to the ancient kings of the city he might reasonably hope to inherit their ghostly repute along with their broad acres, to wear their nimbus as well as their crown. So at a later time when he had conquered Ammon and captured the royal city of Rabbah, he took the heavy gold crown of the Ammonite god Milcom and placed it on his own brows, thus posing as the deity in person. It can hardly, therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that he pursued precisely the same policy at the conquest of Jerusalem. And on the other side the calm confidence with which the Jebusite inhabitants of that city awaited his attack, jeering at the besiegers from the battlements, may well have been born of a firm trust in the local deity rather than in the height and thickness of their grim old walls. Certainly the obstinacy with which in after ages the Jews defended the same place against the armies of Assyria and Rome sprang in large measure from a similar faith in the God of Zion.

Be that as it may, the history of the Hebrew kings presents some features which may perhaps, without straining them too far, be interpreted as traces or relics of a time when they or their predecessors played the part of a divinity, and particularly of Adonis, the divine lord of the land. In life the Hebrew king was regularly addressed as *Adoni-hammelech*, "My Lord the King," and after death he was lamented with cries of *Hor ah! Hor Adon!* "Alas my brother! alas Lord!" These exclamations of grief uttered for the death of a king of Judah

were, we can hardly doubt, the very same cries which the weeping women of Jerusalem uttered in the north porch of the temple for the dead Tammuz. However, little stress can be laid on such forms of address, since *Adon* in Hebrew, like "lord" in English, was a secular as well as a religious title. But whether identified with Adonis or not, the Hebrew kings certainly seem to have been regarded as in a sense divine, as representing and to some extent embodying Jehovah on earth. For the king's throne was called the throne of Jehovah, and the application of the holy oil to his head was believed to impart to him directly a portion of the divine spirit. Hence he bore the title of Messiah, which with its Greek equivalent Christ means no more than "the Anointed One." Thus when David had cut off the skirt of Saul's robe in the darkness of a cave where he was in hiding, his heart smote him for having laid sacrilegious hands upon *Adoni Messiah Jehovah*, "my Lord the Anointed of Jehovah."

Like other divine or semi-divine rulers, the Hebrew kings were apparently held answerable for famine and pestilence. When a dearth, caused perhaps by a failure of the winter rains, had visited the land for three years, King David inquired of the oracle, which discreetly laid the blame not on him but on his predecessor Saul. The dead king was indeed beyond the reach of punishment, but his sons were not. So David had seven of them sought out, and they were hanged before the Lord at the beginning of barley harvest in spring and all the long summer the mother of two of the dead men sat under the gallows-tree, keeping off the jackals by night and the vultures by day, till with the autumn the blessed rain came at last to wet their dangling bodies and fertilize the barren earth once more. Then the bones of the dead were taken down from the gibbet and buried in the sepulchre of their fathers. The season when these princes were put to death, at the beginning of barley

harvest, and the length of time they hung on the gallows, seem to show that their execution was not a mere punishment, but that it partook of the nature of a rain-charm. For it is a common belief that rain can be procured by magical ceremonies performed with dead men's bones, and it would be natural to ascribe a special virtue in this respect to the bones of princes, who are often expected to give rain in their life. When the Israelites demanded of Samuel that he should give them a king, the indignant prophet, loth to be superseded by the upstart Saul, called on the Lord to send thunder and rain, and the Lord did so at once, though the season was early summer and the reapers were at work in the wheat-fields, a time when in common years no rain falls from the cloudless Syrian sky. The pious historian who records the miracle seems to have regarded it as a mere token of the wrath of the deity, whose voice was heard in the roll of thunder, but we may surmise that in giving this impressive proof of his control of the weather, Samuel meant to hint gently at the naughtiness of asking for a king to do for the fertility of the land what could be done quite as well and far more cheaply by a prophet.

In Israel the excess as well as the deficiency of rain seems to have been set down to the wrath of the deity. When the Jews returned to Jerusalem from the great captivity and assembled for the first time in the square before the ruined temple, it happened that the weather was very wet, and as the people sat shelterless and drenched in the piazza they trembled at their sin and at the rain. In all ages it has been the strength or the weakness of Israel to read the hand of God in the changing aspects of nature, and we need not wonder that at such a time and in so dismal a scene, with a lowering sky overhead, the blackened ruins of the temple before their eyes, and the steady drip of the rain over all, the returned exiles should have been oppressed with a

double sense of their own guilt and of the divine anger. Perhaps, though they hardly knew it, memories of the bright sun, fat fields, and broad willow-fringed rivers of Babylon, which had been so long their home, lent a deeper shade of sadness to the austerity of the Judean landscape, with its gaunt grey hills stretching away, range beyond range, to the horizon, or dipping eastward to the far line of sombre blue which marks the sullen waters of the Dead Sea.

In the days of the Hebrew monarchy the king was apparently credited with the power of making sick and making whole. Thus the king of Syria sent a leper to the king of Israel to be healed by him, just as scrofulous patients used to fancy that they could be cured by the touch of a French or English king. However, the Hebrew monarch, with more sense than has been shown by his royal brothers in modern times, professed himself unable to work any such miracle. "Am I God," he asked, "to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?" On another occasion when pestilence ravaged the country and the excited fancy of the plague-stricken people saw in the clouds the figure of the Destroying Angel with his sword stretched out over Jerusalem, they laid the blame on King David, who had offended the touchy and irascible deity by taking a census. The prudent monarch bowed to the popular storm, acknowledged his guilt, and appeased the angry god by offering burnt sacrifices on the threshing-floor of Araunah, one of the old Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem. Then the angel sheathed his flashing sword, and the shrieks of the dying and the lamentations for the dead no longer resounded in the streets.

To this theory of the sanctity, nay the divinity of the Hebrew kings it may be objected that few traces of it survive in the historical books of the Bible. But the force of the objection is weakened by a con-

sideration of the time and the circumstances in which these books assumed their final shape. The great prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries by the spiritual ideals and the ethical fervour of their teaching had wrought a religious and moral reform perhaps unparalleled in history. Under their influence an austere monotheism had replaced the old sensuous worship of the natural powers. A stern Puritanical spirit, an unbending rigour of mind, had succeeded to the old easy supple temper with its weak compliances, its wax-like impressionability, its proclivities to the sins of the flesh. And the moral lessons which the prophets inculcated were driven home by the political events of the time, above all by the ever-growing pressure of the great Assyrian empire on the petty states of Palestine. The long agony of the siege of Samaria must have been followed with trembling anxiety by the inhabitants of Judea, for the danger was at their door. They had only to lift up their eyes and look north to see the blue hills of Ephraim, at whose foot lay the beleaguered city. Its final fall and the destruction of the northern kingdom could not fail to fill every thoughtful mind in the sister realm with sad forebodings. It was as if the sky had lowered and thunder muttered over Jerusalem. Thenceforth to the close of the Jewish monarchy, about a century and a half later, the cloud never passed away, though once for a little it seemed to lift, when Sennacherib raised the siege of Jerusalem and the watchers on the walls beheld the last of the long line of spears and standards disappearing, the last squadron of the blue-coated Assyrian cavalry sweeping, in a cloud of dust, out of sight.

It was in this period of national gloom and despondency that the two great reformations of Israel's religion were accomplished, the first by king Hezekiah, the second a century later by king Josiah. We need not wonder, then, that the reformers who in that and subsequent ages composed or edited the

annals of their nation should have looked as sourly on the old unreformed paganism of their forefathers as the fierce zealots of the Commonwealth looked on the far more innocent pastimes of Merry England, and that in their zeal for the glory of God they should have blotted many pages of history lest they should perpetuate the memory of practices to which they traced the calamities of their country. All the historical books passed through the office of the Puritan censor, and we can hardly doubt that they emerged from it stripped of many gay feathers which they had flaunted when they went in. Among the shed plumage may well have been the passages which invested human beings, whether kings or commoners, with the attributes of deity. Certainly no pages could seem to the censor more rankly blasphemous, on none, therefore, was he likely to press more firmly the official sponge.

But if Semitic kings in general and the kings of Byblus in particular often assumed the style of Baal or Adonis, it follows that they may have mated with the goddess, the Baalath or Astarte of the city. Certainly we hear of kings of Tyre and Sidon who were priests of Astarte. Now to the agricultural Semites the Baal or god of a land was the author of all its fertility, he it was who produced the corn, the wine, the figs, the oil, and the flax, by means of his quickening waters, which in the arid parts of the Semitic world are oftener springs, streams, and underground flow than the rains of heaven. Further, "the life-giving power of the god was not limited to vegetative nature, but to him also were ascribed the increase of animal life, the multiplication of flocks and herds, and, not least, of the human inhabitants of the land. For the increase of animate nature is obviously conditioned, in the last resort, by the fertility of the soil, and primitive races, which have not learned to differentiate the various kinds of life with precision, think of animate as well as vegetable life as rooted in the

earth and sprung from it. The earth is the great mother of all things in most mythological philosophies, and the comparison of the life of mankind, or of a stock of men, with the life of a tree, which is so common in Semitic as in other primitive poetry, is not in its origin a mere figure. Thus where the growth of vegetation is ascribed to a particular divine power, the same power receives the thanks and homage of his worshippers for the increase of cattle and of men. Firstlings as well as first-fruits were offered at the shrines of the Baalim, and one of the commonest classes of personal names given by parents to their sons or daughters designates the child as the gift of the god. In short, "the Baal was conceived as the male principle of reproduction, the husband of the land which he fertilised." So far, therefore, as the Semite personified the reproductive energies of nature as male and female, as a Baal and a Baalath, he appears to have identified the male power especially with water and the female especially with earth. On this view plants and trees, animals and men, are the offspring or children of the Baal and Baalath.

If, then, at Byblus and elsewhere, the Semitic king was allowed, or rather required, to personate the god and marry the goddess, the intention of the custom can only have been to ensure the fertility of the land and the increase of men and cattle by means of homoeopathic magic. There is reason to think that a similar custom was observed from a similar motive in other parts of the ancient world, and particularly at Nemi, where both the male and the female powers, the Dianus and Diana, were in one aspect of their nature personifications of the life-giving waters.

The last king of Byblus bore the ancient name of Cinyras, and was beheaded by Pompey the Great for his tyrannous excesses. His legendary namesake Cinyras is said to have founded a sanctuary of Aphrodite, that is, of Astarte, at a place on Mount Lebanon, distant a day's journey from the capital. The spot

was probably Aphaca, at the source of the river Adonis, half-way between Byblus and Baalbec, for at Aphaca there was a famous grove and sanctuary of Astarte which Constantine destroyed on account of the flagitious character of the worship. The site of the temple has been discovered by modern travellers near the miserable village which still bears the name of Afka at the head of the wild, romantic, wooded gorge of the Adonis. The hamlet stands among groves of noble walnut-trees on the brink of the lyn. A little way off the river rushes from a cavern at the foot of a mighty amphitheatre of towering cliffs to plunge in a series of cascades into the awful depths of the glen. The deeper it descends, the ranker and denser grows the vegetation, which, sprouting from the crannies and fissures of the rocks, spreads a green veil over the roaring or murmuring stream in the tremendous chasm below. There is something delicious, almost intoxicating, in the freshness of these tumbling waters, in the sweetness and purity of the mountain air, in the vivid green of the vegetation. The temple, of which some massive hewn blocks and a fine column of Syenite granite still mark the site, occupied a terrace facing the source of the river and commanding a magnificent prospect. Across the foam and the roar of the waterfalls you look up to the cavern and away to the top of the sublime precipices above. So lofty is the cliff that the goats which creep along its ledges to browse on the bushes appear like ants to the spectator hundreds of feet below. Seaward the view is especially impressive when the sun floods the profound gorge with golden light, revealing all the fantastic buttresses and rounded towers of its mountain rampart, and falling softly on the varied green of the woods which clothe its depths. It was here that, according to the legend, Adonis met Aphrodite for the first or the last time, and here his mangled body was buried. A fairer scene could hardly be imagined for a story

of tragic love and death. Yet, sequestered as the valley is and must always have been, it is not wholly deserted. A convent or a village may be observed here and there standing out against the sky on the top of some beetling crag, or clinging to the face of a nearly perpendicular cliff high above the foam and the din of the river, and at evening the lights that twinkle through the gloom betray the presence of human habitations on slopes which might seem inaccessible to man. In antiquity the whole of the lovely vale appears to have been dedicated to Adonis, and to this day it is haunted by his memory, for the heights which shut it in are crested at various points by ruined monuments of his worship, some of them overhanging dreadful abysses, down which it turns the head dizzy to look and see the eagles wheeling about their nests far below. One such monument exists at Ghineh. The face of a great rock, above a roughly hewn recess, is here carved with figures of Adonis and Aphrodite. He is portrayed with spear in rest, awaiting the attack of a bear, while she is seated in an attitude of sorrow.¹ Her grief-stricken figure may well be the mourning Aphrodite of the Lebanon described by Macrobius, and the recess in the rock is perhaps her lover's tomb. Every year, in the belief of his worshippers, Adonis was wounded to death on the mountains, and every year the face of nature itself was dyed with his sacred blood. So year by year the Syrian damsels lamented his untimely fate, while the red anemone, his flower, bloomed among the cedars of Lebanon, and the river ran red to the sea, fringing the winding shores of the blue Mediterranean, whenever the wind set inshore, with a sinuous band of crimson.

¹ E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pp. 292-294. The writer seems to have no doubt that the beast attacking Adonis is a bear, not a boar. Views of the monument are given by A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*² (Leipsic, 1906), p. 90, and by Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, plates 1 and 11, with his discussion, pp. 78 sqq.

CHAPTER III

ADONIS IN CYPRUS

THE island of Cyprus lies but one day's sail from the coast of Syria. Indeed, on fine summer evenings its mountains may be descried looming low and dark against the red fires of sunset. With its rich mines of copper and its forests of firs and stately cedars, the island naturally attracted a commercial and maritime people like the Phoenicians, while the abundance of its corn, its wine, and its oil must have rendered it in their eyes a Land of Promise by comparison with the niggardly nature of their own rugged coast, hemmed in between the mountains and the sea. Accordingly they settled in Cyprus at a very early date and remained there long after the Greeks had also established themselves on its shores, for we know from inscriptions and coins that Phoenician kings reigned at Citium, the Chittim of the Hebrews, down to the time of Alexander the Great. Naturally the Semitic colonists brought their gods with them from the mother-land. They worshipped Baal of the Lebanon, who may well have been Adonis, and at Amathus on the south coast they instituted the rites of Adonis and Aphrodite, or rather Astarte. Here, as at Byblus, these rites resembled the Egyptian worship of Osiris so closely that some people even identified the Adonis of Amathus with Osiris. The Tyrian Melcarth or Moloch was also worshipped at Amathus, and the tombs discovered in the neighbourhood prove that the city remained Phoenician to a late period.

But the great seat of the worship of Aphrodite

and Adonis in Cyprus was Paphos on the south-western side of the island. Among the petty kingdoms into which Cyprus was divided from the earliest times until the end of the fourth century before our era Paphos must have ranked with the best. It is a land of hills and billowy ridges, diversified by fields and vineyards and intersected by rivers, which in the course of ages have carved for themselves beds of such tremendous depth that travelling in the interior is difficult and tedious. The lofty range of Mount Olympus (the modern Troodos), capped with snow the greater part of the year, screens Paphos from the northerly and easterly winds and cuts it off from the rest of the island. On the slopes of the range the last pinewoods of Cyprus linger, sheltering here and there monasteries in scenery not unworthy of the Apennines. The old city of Paphos occupied the summit of a hill about a mile from the sea, the newer city sprang up at the harbour some ten miles off. The sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos (the modern Kuklia) was one of the most celebrated shrines in the ancient world. From the earliest to the latest times it would seem to have preserved its essential features unchanged. For the sanctuary is represented on coins of the Imperial age, and these representations agree closely with little golden models of a shrine which were found in two of the royal graves of Mycenae. Both on the coins and in the models we see a façade surmounted by a pair of doves and divided into three compartments or chapels, of which the central one is crowned by a lofty superstructure. In the golden models each chapel contains a pillar standing in a pair of horns; the central superstructure is crowned by two pairs of horns, one within the other, and the two side chapels are in like manner crowned each with a pair of horns and a single dove perched on the outer horn of each pair. On the coins each of the side chapels contains a pillar or candelabra-like object; the central chapel

contains a cone and is flanked by two high columns, each terminating in a pair of ball-topped pinnacles, with a star and crescent appearing between the tops of the columns. The doves are doubtless the sacred doves of Aphrodite or Astarte, and the horns and pillars remind us of the similar religious emblems which have been found in the great prehistoric palace of Cnossus in Crete, as well as on many monuments of the Mycenaean or Minoan age of Greece. If antiquaries are right in regarding the golden models as copies of the Paphian shrine, that shrine must have suffered little outward change for more than a thousand years, for the royal graves at Mycenae, in which the models were found, can hardly be of later date than the twelfth century before our era.

Thus the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos was apparently of great antiquity. According to Herodotus, it was founded by Phoenician colonists from Ascalon, but it is possible that a native goddess of fertility was worshipped on the spot before the arrival of the Phoenicians, and that the newcomers identified her with their own Baalath or Astarte, whom she may have closely resembled. If two deities were thus fused in one, we may suppose that they were both varieties of that great goddess of motherhood and fertility whose worship appears to have been spread all over Western Asia from a very early time. The supposition is confirmed as well by the archaic shape of her image as by the licentious character of her rites, for both that shape and those rites were shared by her with other Asiatic deities. Her image was simply a white cone or pyramid. In like manner, a cone was the emblem of Astarte at Byblus, of the native goddess whom the Greeks called Artemis at Perga in Pamphylia, and of the sun-god Heliogabalus at Emesa in Syria. Conical stones, which apparently served as idols, have also been found at Golgi in Cyprus, and in the Phoenician temples of Malta, and cones of sandstone came to light at the shrine of the

"Mistress of Torquoise" among the barren hills and frowning precipices of Sinai. The precise significance of such an emblem remains as obscure as it was in the time of Tacitus. It appears to have been customary to anoint the sacred cone with olive oil at a solemn festival, in which people from Lycia and Caria participated. The custom of anointing a holy stone has been observed in many parts of the world, for example, in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. To this day the old custom appears to survive at Paphos, for "in honour of the Maid of Bethlehem the peasants of Kuklia anointed lately, and probably still anoint each year, the great corner-stones of the ruined Temple of the Paphian Goddess. As Aphrodite was supplicated once with cryptic rites, so is Mary entreated still by Moslems as well as Christians, with incantations and passings through perforated stones, to remove the curse of barrenness from Cypriote women, or increase the manhood of Cypriote men." Thus the ancient worship of the goddess of fertility is continued under a different name. Even the name of the old goddess is retained in some parts of the island, for in more than one chapel the Cypriote peasants adore the mother of Christ under the title of Panaghia Aphroditessa.

In Cyprus it appears that before marriage all women were formerly obliged by custom to prostitute themselves to strangers at the sanctuary of the goddess, whether she went by the name of Aphrodite, Astarte, or what not. Similar customs prevailed in many parts of Western Asia. Whatever its motive, the practice was clearly regarded, not as an orgy of lust, but as a solemn religious duty performed in the service of that great Mother Goddess of Western Asia, whose name varied, while her type remained constant, from place to place. Thus at Babylon every woman, whether rich or poor, had once in her life to submit to the embraces of a stranger at the temple of Mylitta, that is, of Ishtar or Astarte, and

to dedicate to the goddess the wages earned by this sanctified harlotry. The sacred precinct was crowded with women waiting to observe the custom. Some of them had to wait there for years. At Heliopolis or Baalbec in Syria, famous for the imposing grandeur of its ruined temples, the custom of the country required that every maiden should prostitute herself to a stranger at the temple of Astarte, and matrons as well as maids testified their devotion to the goddess in the same manner. The emperor Constantine abolished the custom, destroyed the temple, and built a church in its stead. In Phœnician temples women prostituted themselves for hire in the service of religion, believing that by this conduct they propitiated the goddess and won her favour. "It was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days by the gate." At Byblus the people shaved their heads in the annual mourning for Adonis. Women who refused to sacrifice their hair had to give themselves up to strangers on a certain day of the festival, and the money which they thus earned was devoted to the goddess. This custom may have been a mitigation of an older rule which at Byblus as elsewhere formerly compelled every woman without exception to sacrifice her virtue in the service of religion. I have already suggested a reason why the offering of a woman's hair was accepted as an equivalent for the surrender of her person. We are told that in Lydia all girls were obliged to prostitute themselves in order to earn a dowry, but we may suspect that the real motive of the custom was devotion rather than economy. The suspicion is confirmed by a Greek inscription found at Tralles in Lydia, which proves that the practice of religious prostitution survived in that country as late as the second century of our era. It records of a certain woman, Aurelia Aemilia by name, not only that she herself served the god in the capacity of a harlot at his express

command, but that her mother and other female ancestors had done the same before her, and the publicity of the record, engraved on a marble column which supported a votive offering, shows that no stain attached to such a life and such a parentage. In Armenia the noblest families dedicated their daughters to the service of the goddess Anaitis in her temple at Acilisena, where the damsels acted as prostitutes for a long time before they were given in marriage. Nobody scrupled to take one of these girls to wife when her period of service was over. Again, the goddess Ma was served by a multitude of sacred harlots at Comana in Pontus, and crowds of men and women flocked to her sanctuary from the neighbouring cities and country to attend the biennial festivals or to pay their vows to the goddess.

If we survey the whole of the evidence on this subject, some of which has still to be laid before the reader, we may conclude that a great Mother Goddess, the personification of all the reproductive energies of nature, was worshipped under different names but with a substantial similarity of myth and ritual by many peoples of Western Asia, that associated with her was a lover, or rather series of lovers, divine yet mortal, with whom she mated year by year, their commerce being deemed essential to the propagation of animals and plants, each in their several kind, and further, that the fabulous union of the divine pair was simulated and, as it were, multiplied on earth by the real, though temporary, union of the human sexes at the sanctuary of the goddess for the sake of thereby ensuring the fruitfulness of the ground and the increase of man and beast. And if the conception of such a Mother Goddess dates, as seems probable, from a time when the institution of marriage was either unknown or at most barely tolerated as an immoral infringement of old communal rights, we can understand both why the goddess herself was regularly supposed to be at once unmarried and un-

chaste, and why her own husband might not imitate her more or less completely. For had she been a domestic wife married to a husband, the natural counterpart of a wife, she would have been the loyal mistress of a household, and there would have been no need for a system of prostitution or prostitution to effect those purposes which, on the principles of homoeopathic magic, might in this case be as well or better attained by the legitimate intercourse of the sexes in matrimony. Perhaps, every woman was obliged to submit at least once in her life to the exercise of those rites which at a still earlier period had belonged in permanence to all the males of the tribe. But in course of time, as the institution of marriage grew in favour, and the old customs passed more and more into discredit, the revival of the ancient practice even for a single occasion in a woman's life became ever more repugnant to the morality of the people, and accordingly they resorted to various expedients for evading in practice the obligation which they still acknowledged in theory. One of these evasions was to let the woman offer her husband instead of her person, another apparently was to substitute an obscene symbol for the obscene act. But while the majority of women thus contrived to observe the forms of religion without sacrificing their virtue, it was still thought necessary to the general welfare that a certain number of them should discharge the old obligation in the old way. These became prostitutes either for life or for a term of years at one of the temples dedicated to the service of religion, they were invested with a sacred character, and their vocation, far from being deemed infamous, was probably long regarded by the laity as an exercise of more than common virtue, and rewarded with a tribute of mixed wonder, reverence, and pity, not unlike that which in some parts of the

world is still paid to women who seek to honour their Creator in a different way by renouncing the natural functions of their sex and the tenderest relations of humanity. It is thus that the folly of mankind finds vent in opposite extremes alike harmful and deplorable.

At Paphos the custom of religious prostitution is said to have been instituted by King Cinyras, and to have been practised by his daughters, the sisters of Adonis, who, having incurred the wrath of Aphrodite, mated with strangers and ended their days in Egypt. In this form of the tradition the wrath of Aphrodite is probably a feature added by a later authority, who could only regard conduct which shocked his own moral sense as a punishment inflicted by the goddess instead of as a sacrifice regularly enjoined by her on all her devotees. At all events the story indicates that the princesses of Paphos had to conform to the custom as well as women of humble birth.

The legendary history of the royal and priestly family of the Cinyrads is instructive. We are told that a Syrian man, by name Sandacus, migrated to Cilicia, married Pharnace, daughter of Megassares, king of Hyria, and founded the city of Celenderis. His wife bore him a son, Cinyras, who in time crossed the sea with a company of people to Cyprus, wedded Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, king of the island, and founded Paphos. These legends seem to contain reminiscences of kingdoms in Cilicia and Cyprus which passed in the female line, and were held by men, sometimes foreigners, who married the hereditary princesses. There are some indications that Cinyras was not in fact the founder of the temple at Paphos. An older tradition ascribed the foundation to a certain Aerias, whom some regarded as a king, and others as the goddess herself. Moreover, Cinyras or his descendants at Paphos had to reckon with rivals. These were the Tamirads, a family of diviners who traced their descent from Tamiras, a Cilician augur. At first it was arranged that both families should

preside at the ceremonies, but afterwards the Tamirads gave way to the Cinyrads. Many tales were told of Cinyras, the founder of the dynasty. He was a priest of Aphrodite as well as a king, and his riches passed into a proverb. To his descendants, the Cinyrads, he appears to have bequeathed his wealth and his dignities, at all events, they reigned as kings of Paphos and served the goddess as priests. Their dead bodies, with that of Cinyras himself, were buried in the sanctuary. But by the fourth century before our era the family had declined and become nearly extinct. When Alexander the Great expelled a king of Paphos for injustice and wickedness, his envoys made search for a member of the ancient house to set on the throne of his fathers. At last they found one of them living in obscurity and earning his bread as a market gardener. He was in the very act of watering his beds when the king's messengers carried him off, much to his astonishment, to receive the crown at the hands of their master. Yet if the dynasty decayed, the shrine of the goddess, enriched by the offerings of kings and private persons, maintained its reputation for wealth down to Roman times. When Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, was expelled by his people in 57 B C, Cato offered him the priesthood of Paphos as a sufficient consolation in money and dignity for the loss of a throne.

Among the stories which were told of Cinyras, the ancestor of these priestly kings and the father of Adonis, there are some that deserve our attention. In the first place, he is said to have begotten his son Adonis in incestuous intercourse with his daughter Myrrha at a festival of the corn-goddess, at which women robed in white were wont to offer corn-wreaths as first-fruits of the harvest and to observe strict chastity for nine days. Similar cases of incest with a daughter are reported of many ancient kings. It seems unlikely that such reports are without foundation, and perhaps equally improbable that they refer

to mere fortuitous outbursts of unnatural lust We may suspect that they are based on a practice actually observed for a definite reason in certain special circumstances Now in countries where the royal blood was traced through women only, and where consequently the king held office merely in virtue of his marriage with an hereditary princess, who was the real sovereign, it appears to have often happened that a prince married his own sister, the princess royal, in order to obtain with her hand the crown which otherwise would have gone to another man, perhaps to a stranger May not the same rule of descent have furnished a motive for incest with a daughter? For it seems a natural corollary from such a rule that the king was bound to vacate the throne on the death of his wife, the queen, since he occupied it only by virtue of his marriage with her When that marriage terminated, his right to the throne terminated with it and passed at once to his daughter's husband Hence if the king desired to reign after his wife's death, the only way in which he could legitimately continue to do so was by marrying his daughter, and thus prolonging through her the title which had formerly been his through her mother

In this connexion it is worth while to remember that at Rome the Flamen Dialis was bound to vacate his priesthood on the death of his wife, the Flaminica The rule would be intelligible if the Flaminica had originally been the more important functionary of the two, and if the Flamen held office only by virtue of his marriage with her Elsewhere I have shown reason to suppose that he and his wife represented an old line of priestly kings and queens, who played the parts of Jupiter and Juno, or perhaps rather Dianus and Diana, respectively If the supposition is correct, the custom which obliged him to resign his priesthood on the death of his wife seems to prove that of the two deities whom they personated, the goddess, whether named Juno or Diana, was indeed

the better half But at Rome the goddess Juno always played an insignificant part, whereas at Nemi her old double, Diana, was all-powerful, casting her mate, Dianus or Virbius, into deep shadow Thus a rule which points to the superiority of the Flaminica over the Flamen, appears to indicate that the divine originals of the two were Dianus and Diana rather than Jupiter and Juno, and further, that if Jupiter and Juno at Rome stood for the principle of father-kin, or the predominance of the husband over the wife, Dianus and Diana at Nemi stood for the older principle of mother-kin, or the predominance of the wife in matters of inheritance over the husband If, then, I am right in holding that the kingship at Rome was originally a plebeian institution and descended through women, we must conclude that the people who founded the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi were of the same plebeian stock as the Roman kings, that they traced descent in the female line, and that they worshipped a great Mother Goddess, not a great Father God That goddess was Diana, her maternal functions are abundantly proved by the votive offerings found at her ancient shrine among the wooded hills On the other hand, the patricians, who afterwards invaded the country, brought with them father-kin in its strictest form, and consistently enough paid their devotions rather to Father Jove than to Mother Juno

A parallel to what I conjecture to have been the original relation of the Flaminica to her husband the Flamen may to a certain extent be found among the Khasis of Assam, who preserve to this day the ancient system of mother-kin in matters of inheritance and religion For among these people the propitiation of deceased ancestors is deemed essential to the welfare of the community, and of all their ancestors they revere most the *primaeval* ancestress of the clan Accordingly in every sacrifice a priest must be assisted by a priestess, indeed, we are told

that he merely acts as her deputy, and that she "is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies" It does not appear that the priest need be the husband of the priestess, but in the Khyrim State, where each division has its own goddess to whom sacrifices are offered, the priestess is the mother, sister, niece, or other maternal relation of the priest. It is her duty to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Here, then, as among the ancient Romans on my hypothesis, we have the superiority of the priestess over the priest based on a corresponding superiority of the goddess or divine ancestress over the god or divine ancestor, and here, as at Rome, a priest would clearly have to vacate office if he had no woman of the proper relationship to assist him in the performance of his sacred duties.

Further, I have conjectured that as representatives of Jupiter and Juno respectively the Flamen and Flaminica at Rome may have annually celebrated a Sacred Marriage for the purpose of ensuring the fertility of the powers of nature. This conjecture also may be supported by an analogous custom which is still observed in India. We have seen how among the Oraons, a primitive hill-tribe of Bengal, the marriage of the Sun and the Earth is annually celebrated by a priest and priestess who personate respectively the god of the Sun and the goddess of the Earth. The ceremony of the Sacred Marriage has been described more fully by a Jesuit missionary, who was intimately acquainted with the people and their native religion. The rite is celebrated in the month of May, when the *sal* tree is in bloom, and the festival takes its native name (*khaddi*) from the flower of the tree. It is the greatest festival of the year. "The object of this feast is to celebrate the mystical marriage of the Sun-god (*Bhagawan*) with

the Goddess-earth (*Dhanti-mai*), to induce them to be fruitful and give good crops." At the same time all the minor deities or demons of the village are propitiated, in order that they may not hinder the beneficent activity of the Sun God and the Earth Goddess. On the eve of the appointed day no man may plough his fields, and the priest, accompanied by some of the villagers, repairs to the sacred grove, where he beats a drum and invites all the invisible guests to the great feast that will await them on the morrow. Next morning very early, before cock-crow, an acolyte steals out as quietly as possible to the sacred spring to fetch water in a new earthen pot. This holy water is full of all kinds of blessings for the crops. The priest has prepared a place for it in the middle of his house surrounded by cotton threads of diverse colours. So sacred is the water that it would be defiled and lose all its virtue, were any profane eye to fall on it before it entered the priest's house. During the morning the acolyte and the priest's deputy go round from house to house collecting victims for the sacrifice. In the afternoon the people all gather at the sacred grove, and the priest proceeds to consummate the sacrifice. The first victims to be immolated are a white cock for the Sun God and a black hen for the Earth Goddess, and as the feast is the marriage of these great deities, the marriage service is performed over the two fowls before they are hurried into eternity. Amongst other things both birds are marked with vermilion just as a bride and bridegroom are marked at a human marriage, and the earth is also smeared with vermilion, as if it were a real bride, on the spot where the sacrifice is offered. Sacrifices of fowls or goats to the minor deities or demons follow. The bodies of the victims are collected by the village boys, who cook them on the spot, all the heads go to the sacrificers. The gods take what they can get and are more or less thankful. Meantime the acolyte

has collected flowers of the *sal* tree and set them round the place of sacrifice, and he has also fetched the holy water from the priest's house. A procession is now formed and the priest is carried in triumph to his own abode. There his wife has been watching for him, and on his arrival the two go through the marriage ceremony, applying vermilion to each other in the usual way "to symbolise the mystical marriage of the Sun-god with the Earth-goddess". Meantime all the women of the village are standing on the thresholds of their houses, each with a winnowing-fan in her hand. In the fan are two cups, one empty to receive the holy water, and the other full of rice-beer for the consumption of the holy man. As he arrives at each house, he distributes flowers and holy water to the happy women, and enriches them with a shower of blessings, saying, "May your rooms and granary be filled with rice, that the priest's name may be great". The holy water which he leaves at each house is sprinkled on the seeds that have been kept to sow next year's crop. Having thus imparted his benediction to the household, the priest swigs the beer, and as he repeats his benediction and his potation at every house, he is naturally dead-drunk by the time he gets to the end of the village. "By that time every one has taken copious libations of rice-beer, and all the devils of the village seem to be let loose, and there follows a scene of debauchery baffling description—all these to induce the Sun and the Earth to be fruitful".

Thus the people of Cyprus and Western Asia in antiquity were by no means singular in their belief that the profligacy of the human sexes served to quicken the fruits of the earth.

Cinyras is said to have been famed for his exquisite beauty and to have been wooed by Aphrodite herself. Thus it would appear, as scholars have already observed, that Cinyras was in a sense a duplicate of his handsome son Adonis, to whom the inflammable

goddess also lost her heart Further, these stories of the love of Aphrodite for two members of the royal house of Paphos can hardly be dissociated from the corresponding legend told of Pygmalion, the Phoenician king of Cyprus, who is said to have fallen in love with an image of Aphrodite and taken it to his bed When we consider that Pygmalion was the father-in-law of Cinyras, that the son of Cinyras was Adonis, and that all three, in successive generations, are said to have been concerned in a love-intrigue with Aphrodite, we can hardly help concluding that the early Phoenician kings of Paphos, or their sons, regularly claimed to be not merely the priests of the goddess but also her lovers—in other words, that in their official capacity they personated Adonis At all events Adonis is said to have reigned in Cyprus, and it appears to be certain that the title of Adonis was regularly borne by the sons of all the Phoenician kings of the island It is true that the title strictly signified no more than “lord”, yet the legends which connect these Cyprian princes with the goddess of love make it probable that they claimed the divine nature as well as the human dignity of Adonis The story of Pygmalion points to a ceremony of a sacred marriage in which the king wedded the image of Aphrodite, or rather of Astarte If that was so, the tale was in a sense true, not of a single man only, but of a whole series of men, and it would be all the more likely to be told of Pygmalion, if that was a common name of Semitic kings in general, and of Cyprian kings in particular Pygmalion, at all events, is known as the name of the famous king of Tyre from whom his sister Dido fled, and a king of Citium and Idalium in Cyprus, who reigned in the time of Alexander the Great, was also called Pygmalion, or rather Pumiyathon, the Phoenician name which the Greeks corrupted into Pygmalion Further, it deserves to be noted that the names Pygmalion and Astarte occur together in a Punic inscription on a

gold medallion which was found in a grave at Carthage, the characters of the inscription are of the earliest type. As the custom of religious prostitution at Paphos is said to have been founded by King Cinyras and observed by his daughters, we may surmise that the kings of Paphos played the part of the divine bridegroom in a less innocent rite than the form of marriage with a statue, in fact, that at certain festivals each of them had to mate with one or more of the sacred harlots of the temple, who played Astarte to his Adonis. If that was so, there is more truth than has commonly been supposed in the reproach cast by the Christian fathers that the Aphrodite worshipped by Cinyras was a common whore. The fruit of their union would rank as sons and daughters of the deity, and would in time become the parents of gods and goddesses, like their fathers and mothers before them. In this manner Paphos, and perhaps all sanctuaries of the great Asiatic goddess where sacred prostitution was practised, might be well stocked with human deities, the offspring of the divine king by his wives, concubines, and temple harlots. Any one of these might probably succeed his father on the throne or be sacrificed in his stead whenever stress of war or other grave junctures called, as they sometimes did, for the death of a royal victim. Such a tax, levied occasionally on the king's numerous progeny for the good of the country, would neither extinguish the divine stock nor break the father's heart, who divided his paternal affection among so many. At all events, if, as there seems reason to believe, Semitic kings were often regarded at the same time as hereditary deities, it is easy to understand the frequency of Semitic personal names which imply that the bearers of them were the sons or daughters, the brothers or sisters, the fathers or mothers of a god, and we need not resort to the shifts employed by some scholars to evade the plain sense of the words. This interpretation is confirmed by a

parallel Egyptian usage, for in Egypt, where the kings were worshipped as divine, the queen was called "the wife of the god" or "the mother of the god," and the title "father of the god" was borne not only by the king's real father, but also by his father-in-law. Similarly, perhaps, among the Semites any man who sent his daughter to swell the royal harem may have been allowed to call himself "the father of the god."

If we may judge by his name, the Semitic king who bore the name of Cinyras was, like King David, a harper, for the name of Cinyras is clearly connected with the Greek *cinyra*, "a lyre," which in its turn comes from the Semitic *kinnor*, "a lyre," the very word applied to the instrument on which David played before Saul. We shall probably not err in assuming that at Paphos as at Jerusalem the music of the lyre or harp was not a mere pastime designed to while away an idle hour, but formed part of the service of religion, the moving influence of its melodies being perhaps set down, like the effect of wine, to the direct inspiration of a deity. Certainly at Jerusalem the regular clergy of the temple prophesied to the music of harps, of psalteries, and of cymbals, and it appears that the irregular clergy also, as we may call the prophets, depended on some such stimulus for inducing the ecstatic state which they took for immediate converse with the divinity. Thus we read of a band of prophets coming down from a high place with a psaltery, a timbrel, a pipe, and a harp before them, and prophesying as they went. Again, when the united forces of Judah and Ephraim were traversing the wilderness of Moab in pursuit of the enemy, they could find no water for three days, and were like to die of thirst, they and the beasts of burden. In this emergency the prophet Elisha, who was with the army, called for a minstrel and bade him play. Under the influence of the music he ordered the soldiers to dig trenches in the sandy

bed of the waterless waddy through which lay the line of march. They did so, and next morning the trenches were full of the water that had drained down into them underground from the desolate, forbidding mountains on either hand. The prophet's success in striking water in the wilderness resembles the reported success of modern dowsers, though his mode of procedure was different. Incidentally he rendered another service to his countrymen. For the skulking Moabites from their lairs among the rocks saw the red sun of the desert reflected in the water, and taking it for the blood, or perhaps rather for an omen of the blood, of their enemies, they plucked up heart to attack the camp and were defeated with great slaughter.

Again, just as the cloud of melancholy which from time to time darkened the moody mind of Saul was viewed as an evil spirit from the Lord vexing him, so on the other hand the solemn strains of the harp, which soothed and composed his troubled thoughts, may well have seemed to the hag-ridden king the very voice of God or of his good angel whispering peace. Even in our own day a great religious writer, himself deeply sensitive to the witchery of music, has said that musical notes, with all their power to fire the blood and melt the heart, cannot be mere empty sounds and nothing more, no, they have escaped from some higher sphere, they are outpourings of eternal harmony, the voice of angels, the Magnificat of saints. It is thus that the rude imaginings of primitive man are transfigured and his feeble lisps echoed with a rolling reverberation in the musical prose of Newman. Indeed the influence of music on the development of religion is a subject which would repay a sympathetic study. For we cannot doubt that this, the most intimate and affecting of all the arts, has done much to create as well as to express the religious emotions, thus modifying more or less deeply the fabric of belief to which at first

sight it seems only to minister. The musician has done his part as well as the prophet and the thinker in the making of religion. Every faith has its appropriate music, and the difference between the creeds might almost be expressed in musical notation. The interval, for example, which divides the wild revels of Cybele from the stately ritual of the Catholic Church is measured by the gulf which severs the dissonant clash of cymbals and tambourines from the grave harmonies of Palestrina and Handel. A different spirit breathes in the difference of the music.¹

The legend which made Apollo the friend of Cinyras may be based on a belief in their common devotion to the lyre. But what function, we may ask, did string music perform in the Greek and the Semitic ritual? Did it serve to rouse the human mouthpiece of the god to prophetic ecstasy? or did it merely ban goblins and demons from the holy places and the holy service, drawing as it were around the worshippers a magic circle within which no evil thing might intrude? In short, did it aim at summoning good or banishing evil spirits? was its object inspiration or exorcism? The examples drawn from the lives or legends of Elisha and David prove that with the Hebrews the music of the lyre might be used for either purpose, for while Elisha employed it to tune himself to the prophetic pitch, David resorted to it for the sake of exorcising the foul fiend from Saul. With the Greeks, on the other hand, in historical times, it does not appear that string music served as a means of inducing the condition of trance or ecstasy in the human mouthpieces of Apollo and the other oracular gods, on the contrary, its sobering and composing influence, as contrasted with the exciting influence of flute music, is the aspect which

¹ It would be interesting to pursue a similar line of inquiry in regard to the other arts. What was the influence of Phidias on Greek religion? How much does Catholicism owe to Fra Angelico?

chiefly impressed the Greek mind. The religious or, at all events, the superstitious man might naturally ascribe the mental composure wrought by grave, sweet music to a riddance of evil spirits—in short, to exorcism, and in harmony with this view, Pindar, speaking of the lyre, says that all things hateful to Zeus in earth and sea tremble at the sound of music. Yet the association of the lyre with the legendary prophet Orpheus as well as with the oracular god Apollo seems to hint that in early days its strains may have been employed by the Greeks, as they certainly were by the Hebrews, to bring on that state of mental exaltation in which the thick coming fancies of the visionary are regarded as divine communications. Which of these two functions of music, the positive or the negative, the inspiring or the protective, predominated in the religion of Adonis we cannot say, perhaps the two were not clearly distinguished in the minds of his worshippers.

A constant feature in the myth of Adonis was his premature and violent death. If, then, the kings of Paphos regularly personated Adonis, we must ask whether they imitated their divine prototype in death as in life. Tradition varied as to the end of Cinyras. Some thought that he slew himself on discovering his incest with his daughter, others alleged that, like Marsyas, he was defeated by Apollo in a musical contest and put to death by the victor. Yet he cannot strictly be said to have perished in the flower of his youth if he lived, as Anacreon averred, to the ripe age of one hundred and sixty. If we must choose between the two stories, it is perhaps more likely that he died a violent death than that he survived to an age which surpassed that of Thomas Parr by eight years, though it fell far short of the antediluvian standard. The life of eminent men in remote ages is exceedingly elastic and may be lengthened or shortened, in the interests of history, at the taste and fancy of the historian.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED MEN AND WOMEN

§ I *An Alternative Theory*

IN the preceding chapter we saw that a system of sacred prostitution was regularly carried on all over Western Asia, and that both in Phoenicia and in Cyprus the practice was specially associated with the worship of Adonis. As the explanation which I have adopted of the custom has been rejected in favour of another by writers whose opinions are entitled to be treated with respect, I shall devote the present chapter to a further consideration of the subject, and shall attempt to gather, from a closer scrutiny and a wider survey of the field, such evidence as may set the custom and with it the worship of Adonis in a clearer light. At the outset it will be well to examine the alternative theory which has been put forward to explain the facts.

It has been proposed to derive the religious prostitution of Western Asia from a purely secular and precautionary practice of destroying a bride's virginity before handing her over to her husband in order that "the bridegroom's intercourse should be safe from a peril that is much dreaded by men in a certain stage of culture." Among the objections which may be taken to this view are the following —

(1) The theory fails to account for the deeply religious character of the customs as practised in antiquity all over Western Asia. That religious character appears from the observance of the custom at the sanctuaries of a great goddess, the dedication of the wages of prostitution to her, the belief of the

women that they earned her favour by prostituting themselves, and the command of a male deity to serve him in this manner

(2) The theory fails to account for the prostitution of married women at Heliopolis and apparently also at Babylon and Byblus, for in describing the practice at the two latter places our authorities, Herodotus and Lucian, speak only of women, not of virgins. In Israel also we know from Hosea that young married women prostituted themselves at the sanctuaries on the hilltops under the shadow of the sacred oaks, poplars, and terebinths. The prophet makes no mention of virgins participating in these orgies. They may have done so, but his language does not imply it. He speaks only of "your daughters" and "your daughters-in-law". The prostitution of married women is wholly inexplicable on the hypothesis here criticized. Yet it can hardly be separated from the prostitution of virgins, which in some places at least was carried on side by side with it.

(3) The theory fails to account for the repeated and professional prostitution of women in Lydia, Pontus, Armenia, and apparently all over Palestine. Yet this habitual prostitution can in its turn hardly be separated from the first prostitution in a woman's life. Or are we to suppose that the first act of unchastity is to be explained in one way and all the subsequent acts in quite another? that the first act was purely secular and all the subsequent acts purely religious?

(4) The theory fails to account for the *Kedeshim* ("sacred men") side by side with the *Kedeshoth* ("sacred women") at the sanctuaries, for whatever the religious functions of these "sacred men" may have been, it is highly probable that they were analogous to those of the "sacred women" and are to be explained in the same way.

(5) On the hypothesis which I am considering we should expect to find the man who deflowers the maid

remunerated for rendering a dangerous service, and so in fact we commonly find him remunerated in places where the supposed custom is really practised. But in Western Asia it was just the contrary. It was the woman who was paid, not the man, indeed, so well was she paid that in Lydia and Cyprus the girls earned dowries for themselves in this fashion. This clearly shows that it was the woman, and not the man, who was believed to render the service. Or are we to suppose that the man had to pay for rendering a dangerous service?

These considerations seem to prove conclusively that whatever the remote origin of these Western Asiatic customs may have been, they cannot have been observed in historical times from any such motive as is assumed by the hypothesis under discussion. At the period when we have to do with them the customs were to all appearance purely religious in character, and a religious motive must accordingly be found for them. Such a motive is supplied by the theory I have adopted, which, so far as I can judge, adequately explains all the known facts.

At the same time, in justice to the writers whose views I have criticized, I wish to point out that the practice from which they propose to derive the sacred prostitution of Western Asia has not always been purely secular in character. For, in the first place, the agent employed is sometimes reported to be a priest, and, in the second place, the sacrifice of virginity has in some places, for example at Rome and in parts of India, been made directly to the image of a male deity. The meaning of these practices is very obscure, and in the present state of our ignorance on the subject it is unsafe to build conclusions on them. It is possible that what seems to be a purely secular precaution may be only a degenerate form of a religious rite, and on the other hand it is possible that the religious rite may go back to a purely physical preparation for marriage, such as is still observed

among the aborigines of Australia. But even if such an historical origin could be established, it would not explain the motives from which the customs described in this volume were practised by the people of Western Asia in historical times. The true parallel to these customs is the sacred prostitution which is carried on to this day by dedicated women in India and Africa. An examination of these modern practices may throw light on the ancient customs.

§ 2. *Sacred Women in India*

In India the dancing-girls dedicated to the service of the Tamil temples take the name of *deva-dasis*, "servants or slaves of the gods," but in common parlance they are spoken of simply as harlots. Every Tamil temple of note in Southern India has its troop of these sacred women. Their official duties are to dance twice a day, morning and evening, in the temple, to fan the idol with Tibetan ox-tails, to dance and sing before it when it is borne in procession, and to carry the holy light called *Kimbari*. Inscriptions show that in A.D. 1004 the great temple of the Chola king Rajaraja at Tanjore had attached to it four hundred "women of the temple," who lived at free quarters in the streets round about it and were allowed land free of taxes out of its endowment. From infancy they are trained to dance and sing. In order to obtain a safe delivery expectant mothers will often vow to dedicate their child, if she should prove to be a girl, to the service of God. Among the weavers of Tirukallikundram, a little town in the Madras Presidency, the eldest daughter of every family is devoted to the temple. Girls thus made over to the deity are formally married, sometimes to the idol, sometimes to a sword, before they enter on their duties, from which it appears that they are often, if not regularly, regarded as the wives of the god.

Among the Kaikolans, a large caste of Tamil weavers who are spread all over Southern India, at

least one girl in every family should be dedicated to the temple service. The ritual, as it is observed at the initiation of one of these girls in Coimbatore, includes "a form of nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited for an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle, or his representative, ties a gold band on the girl's forehead, and, carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brahman priest recites the *mantrams*, and prepares the sacred fire (*hōmam*). The uncle is presented with new cloths by the girl's mother. For the actual nuptials a rich Brahman, if possible, and, if not, a Brahman of more lowly status is invited. A Brahman is called in, as he is next in importance to, and the representative of the idol. It is said that when the man who is to receive her first favours joins the girl, a sword must be placed, at least for a few minutes, by her side." When one of these dancing-girls dies, her body is covered with a new cloth which has been taken for the purpose from the idol, and flowers are supplied from the temple to which she belonged. No worship is performed in the temple until the last rites have been performed over her body, because the idol, being deemed her husband, is held to be in that state of ceremonial pollution common to human mourners which debars him from the offices of religion. In Mahratta such a female devotee is called *Murli*. Common folk believe that from time to time the shadow of the god falls on her and possesses her person. At such times the possessed woman rocks herself to and fro, and the people occasionally consult her as a soothsayer, laying money at her feet and accepting as an oracle the words of wisdom or folly that drop from her lips. Nor is the profession of a temple prostitute adopted only by girls. In Tulava, a district of Southern India, any woman of the four highest castes who wearies of her husband or, as a widow and therefore incapable of marriage, grows tired of celibacy, may go to a temple and eat of the

rice offered to the idol Thereupon, if she is a Brahman, she has the right to live either in the temple or outside of its precincts, as she pleases If she decides to live in it, she gets a daily allowance of rice, and must sweep the temple, fan the idol, and confine her amours to the Brahmans The male children of these women form a special class called Moylar, but are fond of assuming the title of Stanikas As many of them as can find employment hang about the temple, sweeping the areas, sprinkling them with cow-dung, carrying torches before the gods, and doing other odd jobs Some of them, debarred from these holy offices, are reduced to the painful necessity of earning their bread by honest work The daughters are either brought up to live like their mothers or are given in marriage to the Stanikas Brahman women who do not choose to live in the temples, and all the women of the three lower castes, cohabit with any man of pure descent, but they have to pay a fixed sum annually to the temple

In Travancore a dancing-girl attached to a temple is known as a *Dâsî*, or *Dêvadâsî*, or *Dêvaratnâl*, "a servant of God" The following account of her dedication and way of life deserves to be quoted because, while it ignores the baser side of her vocation, it brings clearly out the idea of her marriage to the deity "Marriage in the case of a *Dêvaratnâl* in its original import is a renunciation of ordinary family life and a consecration to the service of God With a lady-nurse at a Hospital, or a sister at a Convent, a *Dêvadâsî* at a Hindu shrine, such as she probably was in the early ages of Hindu spirituality, would have claimed favourable comparison In the ceremonial of the dedication-marriage of the *Dâsî*, elements are not wanting which indicate a past quite the reverse of disreputable The girl to be married is generally from six to eight years in age The bridegroom is the presiding deity of the local temple The ceremony is done at his house The expenses of the celebration

are supposed to be partly paid from his funds. To instance the practice at the Suchindram temple, a *Yôga* or meeting of the chief functionaries of the temple arranges the preliminaries. The girl to be wedded bathes and goes to the temple with two pieces of cloth, a *tâh*, betel, areca-nut, etc. These are placed by the priest at the feet of the image. The girl sits with the face towards the deity. The priest kindles the sacred fire and goes through all the rituals of the *Tuukkalyânam* festival. He then initiates the bride into the *Panchâkshara mantra*, if in a Saiva temple, and the *Ashtâkshara*, if in a Vaishnava temple. On behalf of the divine bridegroom, he presents one of the two cloths she has brought as offering and ties the *Tâh* around her neck. The practice, how old it is not possible to say, is then to take her to her house, where the usual marriage festivities are celebrated for four days. As in Brahminical marriages, the *Nalunku* ceremony, i.e. the rolling of a cocoanut by the bride to the bridegroom and *vice versa* a number of times to the accompaniment of music, is gone through, the temple priest playing the bridegroom's part. Thenceforth she becomes the wife of the deity in the sense that she formally and solemnly dedicates the rest of her life to his service with the same constancy and devotion that a faithful wife united in holy matrimony shows to her wedded lord. The life of a *Dêvadâsî* bedecked with all the accomplishments that the muses could give was one of spotless purity. Even now she is maintained by the temple. She undertakes fasts in connection with the temple festivals, such as the seven days' fast for the *Âpamârgam* ceremony. During the period of this fast, strict continence is enjoined, she is required to take only one meal, and that within the temple—in fact to live and behave, at least for a term, in the manner ordained for her throughout life. Some of the details of her daily work seem interesting, she attends the *Dîpâradhana*, the waving of lighted lamps in front of the deity at

sunset every day; sings hymns in his praise, dances before his presence, goes round with him in his processions with lights in hand. After the procession, she sings a song or two from Jayadêva's *Gîtâgôvinda*, and with a few lullaby hymns, her work for the night is over. When she grows physically unfit for these duties, she is formally invalided by a special ceremony, i.e. *Tôlirvaikkuka*, or the laying down of the ear-pendants. It is gone through at the Maha Raja's palace, whereafter she becomes a *Tâikkizhavi* (old mother), entitled only to a subsistence-allowance. When she dies, the temple contributes to the funeral expenses. On her death-bed, the priest attends and after a few ceremonies immediately after death, gets her bathed with saffron-powder."

§ 3 *Sacred Men and Women in West Africa*

Still more instructive for our present purpose are the West African customs. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast "recruits for the priesthood are obtained in two ways, viz by the affiliation of young persons, and by the direct consecration of adults. Young people of either sex dedicated or affiliated to a god are termed *kosio*, from *kono*, 'unfruitful,' because a child dedicated to a god passes into his service and is practically lost to his parents, and *sɪ*, 'to run away.' As the females become the 'wives' of the god to whom they are dedicated, the termination *sɪ* in *vôdu-sɪ* [another name for these dedicated women], has been translated 'wife' by some Europeans, but it is never used in the general acceptation of that term, being entirely restricted to persons consecrated to the gods. The chief business of the female *kosɪ* is prostitution, and in every town there is at least one institution in which the best-looking girls, between ten and twelve years of age, are received. Here they remain for three years, learning the chants and dances peculiar to the worship of the gods, and prostituting themselves to the priests and

the inmates of the male seminaries; and at the termination of their novitiate they become public prostitutes. This condition, however, is not regarded as one for reproach, they are considered to be married to the god, and their excesses are supposed to be caused and directed by him. Properly speaking, their libertinage should be confined to the male worshippers at the temple of the god, but practically it is indiscriminate. Children who are born from such unions belong to the god. These women are not allowed to marry, since they are deemed the wives of a god.

Again, in this part of Africa "the female *Kosio* of Dañh-gbɛ, or *Dañh-sio*, that is, the wives, priestesses, and temple prostitutes of Dañh-gbɛ, the python-god, have their own organization. Generally they live together in a group of houses or huts inclosed by a fence, and in these inclosures the novices undergo their three years of initiation. Most new members are obtained by the affiliation of young girls, but any woman whatever, married or single, slave or free, by publicly simulating possession, and uttering the conventional cries recognized as indicative of possession by the god, can at once join the body, and be admitted to the habitations of the order. The person of a woman who has joined in this manner is inviolable, and during the period of her novitiate she is forbidden, if single, to enter the house of her parents, and, if married, that of her husband. This inviolability, while it gives women opportunities of gratifying an illicit passion, at the same time serves occasionally to save the persecuted slave, or neglected wife, from the ill-treatment of the lord and master, for she has only to go through the conventional form of possession and an asylum is assured." The python-god marries these women secretly in his temple, and they father their offspring on him, but it is the priests who consummate the union.

For our purpose it is important to note that a close connexion is apparently supposed to exist between

the fertility of the soil and the marriage of these women to the serpent. For the time when new brides are sought for the reptile-god is the season when the millet is beginning to sprout. Then the old priestesses, armed with clubs, run frantically through the streets shrieking like mad women and carrying off to be brides of the serpent any little girls between the ages of eight and twelve whom they may find outside of the houses. Pious people at such times will sometimes leave their daughters at their doors on purpose that they may have the honour of being dedicated to the god. The marriage of wives to the serpent-god is probably deemed necessary to enable him to discharge the important function of making the crops to grow and the cattle to multiply, for we read that these people "invoke the snake in excessively wet, dry, or barren seasons, on all occasions relating to their government and the preservation of their cattle, or rather, in one word, in all necessities and difficulties, in which they do not apply to their new batch of gods." Once in a bad season the Dutch factor Bosman found the King of Whydah in a great rage. His Majesty explained the reason of his discomposure by saying "that that year he had sent much larger offerings to the snake-house than usual, in order to obtain a good crop, and that one of his vice-roys (whom he showed me) had desired him afresh, in the name of the priests, who threatened a barren year, to send yet more. To which he answered that he did not intend to make any further offerings this year, and if the snake would not bestow a plentiful harvest on them, he might let it alone, for (said he) I cannot be more damaged thereby, the greatest part of my corn being already rotten in the field."

The Akikuyu of British East Africa "have a custom which reminds one of the West African python-god and his wives. At intervals of, I believe, several years the medicine-men order huts to be built for the purpose of worshipping a river snake. The snake-god requires wives, and women or more especially girls go

to the huts Here the union is consummated by the medicine-men If the number of females who go to the huts voluntarily is not sufficient, girls are seized and dragged there I believe the offspring of such a union is said to be fathered by God (Ngai) at any rate there are children in Kikuyu who are regarded as the children of God "

Among the negroes of the Slave Coast there are, as we have seen, male *kosio* as well as female *kosio*, that is, there are dedicated men as well as dedicated women, priests as well as priestesses, and the ideas and customs in regard to them seem to be similar. Like the women, the men undergo a three years' novitiate, at the end of which each candidate has to prove that the god accepts him and finds him worthy of inspiration. Escorted by a party of priests, he goes to a shrine and seats himself on a stool that belongs to the deity. The priests then anoint his head with a mystic decoction and invoke the god in a long and wild chorus. During the singing, the youth, if he is acceptable to the deity, trembles violently, simulates convulsions, foams at the mouth, and dances in a frenzied style, sometimes for more than an hour. This is the proof that the god has taken possession of him. After that he has to remain in a temple without speaking for seven days and nights. At the end of that time, he is brought out, a priest opens his mouth to show that he may now use his tongue, a new name is given him, and he is fully ordained. Henceforth he is regarded as the priest and medium of the deity whom he serves, and the words which he utters in that morbid state of mental excitement which passes for divine inspiration, are accepted by the hearers as the very words of the god spoken by the mouth of the man. Any crime which a priest committed in a state of frenzy used to remain unpunished, no doubt because the act was thought to be the act of the god. But this benefit of clergy was so much abused that under King Gezo the law had to be altered, and

although, while he is still possessed by the god, the inspired criminal is safe, he is now liable to punishment as soon as the divine spirit leaves him. Nevertheless on the whole among these people "the person of a priest or priestess is sacred. Not only must a layman not lay hands on or insult one, he must be careful not even to knock one by accident, or jostle against one in the street. The Abbé Bouche relates that once when he was paying a visit to the chief of Agweh, one of the wives of the chief was brought into the house by four priestesses, her face bloody, and her body covered with stripes. She had been savagely flogged for having accidentally trodden upon the foot of one of them, and the chief not only dared not give vent to his anger, but had to give them a bottle of rum as a peace-offering."

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, who border on the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast to the west, the customs and beliefs in regard to the dedicated men and dedicated women, the priests and priestesses, are very similar. These persons are believed to be from time to time possessed or inspired by the deity whom they serve, and in that state they are consulted as oracles. They work themselves up to the necessary pitch of excitement by dancing to the music of drums, each god has his special hymn, sung to a special beat of the drum, and accompanied by a special dance. It is while thus dancing to the drums that the priest or priestess lets fall the oracular words in a croaking or guttural voice which the hearers take to be the voice of the god. Hence dancing has an important place in the education of priests and priestesses, they are trained in it for months before they may perform in public. These mouthpieces of the deity are consulted in almost every concern of life and are handsomely paid for their services. "Priests marry like any other members of the community, and purchase wives, but priestesses are never married, nor can any 'head money' be p^{aid}

for a priestess. The reason appears to be that a priestess belongs to the god she serves, and therefore cannot become the property of a man as would be the case if she married one. This prohibition extends to marriage only, and a priestess is not debarred from sexual commerce. The children of a priest or priestess are not ordinarily educated for the priestly profession, one generation being usually passed over, and the grandchildren selected. Priestesses are ordinarily most licentious, and custom allows them to gratify their passions with any man who may chance to take their fancy." The ranks of the hereditary priesthood are constantly recruited by persons who devote themselves or who are devoted by their relations or masters to the profession. Men, women, and even children can thus become members of the priesthood. If a mother has lost several of her children by death, she will not uncommonly vow to devote the next born to the service of the gods, for in this way she hopes to save the child's life. So when the child is born it is set apart for the priesthood, and on arriving at maturity generally fulfils the vow made by the mother and becomes a priest or priestess. At the ceremony of ordination the votary has to prove his or her vocation for the sacred life in the usual way by falling into or simulating convulsions, dancing frantically to the beat of drums, and speaking in a hoarse unnatural voice words which are deemed to be the utterance of the deity temporarily lodged in the body of the man or woman.

§ 4 *Sacred Women in Western Asia*

Thus in Africa, and sometimes if not regularly in India, the sacred prostitutes attached to temples are regarded as the wives of the god, and their excesses are excused on the ground that the women are not themselves, but that they act under the influence of divine inspiration. This is in substance the explanation which I have given of the custom of sacred

prostitution as it was practised in antiquity by the peoples of Western Asia. In their licentious intercourse at the temples the women, whether maidens or matrons or professional harlots, imitated the licentious conduct of a great goddess of fertility for the purpose of ensuring the fruitfulness of fields and trees, of man and beast, and in discharging this sacred and important function the women were probably supposed, like their West African sisters, to be actually possessed by the goddess. The hypothesis at least explains all the facts in a simple and natural manner, and in assuming that women could be married to gods it assumes a principle which we know to have been recognized in Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt. At Babylon a woman regularly slept in the great bed of Bel or Marduk, which stood in his temple on the summit of a lofty pyramid, and it was believed that the god chose her from all the women of Babylon and slept with her in the bed. However, unlike the Indian and West African wives of gods, this spouse of the Babylonian deity is reported by Herodotus to have been chaste. Yet we may doubt whether she was so, for these wives or perhaps paramours of Bel are probably to be identified with the wives or votaries of Marduk mentioned in the code of Hammurabi, and we know from the code that female votaries of the gods might be mothers and married to men. At Babylon the sun-god Shamash as well as Marduk had human wives formally dedicated to his service, and they, like the votaries of Marduk, might have children. It is significant that a name for these Babylonian votaries was *kadishitu*, which is the same word as *kadesha*, "consecrated woman," the regular Hebrew word for a temple harlot. It is true that the law severely punished any disrespect shown to these sacred women, but the example of West Africa warns us that a formal respect shown to such persons, even when it is enforced by severe penalties, need be no proof at all of their virtuous character. In Egypt

a woman used to sleep in the temple of Ammon at Thebes, and the god was believed to visit her Egyptian texts often mention her as "the divine consort," and in old days she seems to have usually been the Queen of Egypt herself. But in the time of Strabo, at the beginning of our era, these consorts or concubines of Ammon, as they were called, were beautiful young girls of noble birth, who held office only till puberty. During their term of office they prostituted themselves freely to any man who took their fancy. After puberty they were given in marriage, and a ceremony of mourning was performed for them as if they were dead. When they died in good earnest, their bodies were laid in special graves.

§ 5 *Sacred Men in Western Asia*

As in West Africa the dedicated women have their counterpart in the dedicated men, so it was in Western Asia, for there the sacred men (*kedeshim*) clearly corresponded to the sacred women (*kedeshoth*), in other words, the sacred male slaves of the temples were the complement of the sacred female slaves. And as the characteristic feature of the dedicated men in West Africa is their supposed possession or inspiration by the deity, so we may conjecture was it with the sacred male slaves (the *kedeshim*) of Western Asia, they, too, may have been regarded as temporary or permanent embodiments of the deity, possessed from time to time by his divine spirit, acting in his name, and speaking with his voice. At all events we know that this was so at the sanctuary of the Moon among the Albanians of the Caucasus. The sanctuary owned church lands of great extent peopled by sacred slaves, and it was ruled by a high-priest, who ranked next after the king. Many of these slaves were inspired by the deity and prophesied, and when one of them had been for some time in this state of divine frenzy, wandering alone in the forest, the high-priest had him caught, bound with a sacred chain, and maintained in

luxury for a year. Then the poor wretch was led out, anointed with unguents, and sacrificed with other victims to the Moon. The mode of sacrifice was this. A man took a sacred spear, and thrust it through the victim's side to the heart. As he staggered and fell, the rest observed him closely and drew omens from the manner of his fall. Then the body was dragged or carried away to a certain place, where all his fellows stood upon it by way of purification. In this custom the prophet, or rather the maniac, was plainly supposed to be moon-struck in the most literal sense, that is, possessed or inspired by the deity of the Moon, who was perhaps thought by the Albanians, as by the Phrygians, to be a male god, since his chosen minister and mouthpiece was a man, not a woman. It can hardly therefore be deemed improbable that at other sanctuaries of Western Asia, where sacred men were kept, these ministers of religion should have discharged a similar prophetic function, even though they did not share the tragic fate of the moon-struck Albanian prophet. Nor was the influence of these Asiatic prophets confined to Asia. In Sicily the spark which kindled the devastating Servile War was struck by a Syrian slave, who simulated the prophetic ecstasy in order to rouse his fellow-slaves to arms in the name of the Syrian goddess. To inflame still more his inflammatory words this ancient Mahdī ingeniously interlarded them with real fire and smoke, which by a common conjurer's trick he breathed from his lips.

In like manner the Hebrew prophets were believed to be temporarily possessed and inspired by a divine spirit who spoke through them, just as a divine spirit is supposed by West African negroes to speak through the mouth of the dedicated men his priests. Indeed the points of resemblance between the prophets of Israel and West Africa are close and curious. Like their black brothers, the Hebrew prophets employed music in order to bring on the prophetic trance, like

them, they received the divine spirit through the application of a magic oil to their heads, like them, they were apparently distinguished from common people by certain marks on the face, and like them they were consulted not merely in great national emergencies, but in the ordinary affairs of everyday life, in which they were expected to give information and advice for a small fee. For example, Samuel was consulted about lost asses, just as a Zulu diviner is consulted about lost cows, and we have seen Elisha acting as a dowser when water ran short. Indeed, we learn that the old name for a prophet was a seer, a word which may be understood to imply that his special function was divination rather than prophecy in the sense of prediction. Be that as it may, prophecy of the Hebrew type has not been limited to Israel, it is indeed a phenomenon of almost world-wide occurrence, in many lands and in many ages the wild, whirling words of frenzied men and women have been accepted as the utterances of an indwelling deity. What does distinguish Hebrew prophecy from all others is that the genius of a few members of the profession wrested this vulgar but powerful instrument from baser uses, and by wielding it in the interest of a high morality rendered a service of incalculable value to humanity. That is indeed the glory of Israel, but it is not the side of prophecy with which we are here concerned.

More to our purpose is to note that prophecy of the ordinary sort appears to have been in vogue at Byblus, the sacred city of Adonis, centuries before the life-time of the earliest Hebrew prophet whose writings have come down to us. When the Egyptian traveller, Wen-Ammon, was lingering in the port of Byblus, under the King's orders to quit the place, the spirit of God came on one of the royal pages or henchmen, and in a prophetic frenzy he announced that the King should receive the Egyptian stranger as a messenger sent from the god Ammon. The god who thus took

possession of the page and spoke through him was probably Adonis, the god of the city. With regard to the office of these royal pages we have no information; but as ministers of a sacred king and liable to be inspired by the deity, they would naturally be themselves sacred, in fact they may have belonged to the class of sacred slaves or *kedeshim*. If that was so it would confirm the conclusion to which the foregoing investigation points, namely, that originally no sharp line of distinction existed between the prophets and the *kedeshim*, both were "men of God," as the prophets were constantly called, in other words, they were inspired mediums, men in whom the god manifested himself from time to time by word and deed—in short, temporary incarnations of the deity. But while the prophets roved freely about the country, the *kedeshim* appear to have been regularly attached to a sanctuary, and among the duties which they performed at the shrines there were clearly some which revolted the conscience of men imbued with a purer morality. What these duties were, we may surmise partly from the behaviour of the sons of Eli to the women who came to the tabernacle, partly from the beliefs and practices as to "holy men" which survive to this day among the Syrian peasantry.

Of these "holy men" we are told that "so far as they are not impostors, they are men whom we would call insane, known among the Syrians as *mejnûn*, possessed by a *jinn* or spirit. They often go in filthy garments, or without clothing. Since they are regarded as intoxicated by deity, the most dignified men, and of the highest standing among the Moslems, submit to utter indecent language at their bidding without rebuke, and ignorant Moslem women do not shrink from their approach, because in their superstitious belief they attribute to them, as men possessed by God, a divine authority which they dare not resist. Such an attitude of compliance may be exceptional, but there are more than rumours of its

existence These 'holy men' differ from the ordinary derwishes whom travellers so often see in Cairo, and from the ordinary madmen who are kept in fetters, so that they may not do injury to themselves and others But their appearance, and the expressions regarding them, afford some illustrations of the popular estimate of ancient seers, or prophets, in the time of Hosea 'The prophet is a fool, the man that hath the spirit is mad', and in the time of Jeremiah, the man who made himself a prophet was considered as good as a madman" To complete the parallel, these vagabonds "are also believed to be possessed of prophetic power, so that they are able to foretell the future, and warn the people among whom they live of impending danger"

We may conjecture that with women a powerful motive for submitting to the embraces of the "holy men" is a hope of obtaining offspring by them For in Syria it is still believed that even dead saints can beget children on barren women, who accordingly resort to their shrines in order to obtain the wish of their hearts For example, at the Baths of Solomon in Northern Palestine, blasts of hot air escape from the ground, and one of them, named Abu Rabah, is a famous resort of childless wives who wish to satisfy their maternal longings They let the hot air stream up over their bodies and really believe that children born to them after such a visit are begotten by the saint of the shrine But the saint who enjoys the highest reputation in this respect is St George He reveals himself at his shrines which are scattered all over the country, at each of them there is a tomb or the likeness of a tomb The most celebrated of these sanctuaries is at Kalat el Hosn in Northern Syria Barren women of all sects, including Moslems, resort to it "There are many natives who shrug their shoulders when this shrine is mentioned in connexion with women But it is doubtless true that many do not know what seems to be its true character, and who

think that the most puissant saint, as they believe, in the world can give them sons" "But the true character of the place is beginning to be recognized, so that many Moslems have forbidden their wives to visit it"

§ 6 *Sons of God*

Customs like the foregoing may serve to explain the belief, which is not confined to Syria, that men and women may be in fact and not merely in metaphor the sons and daughters of a god, for these modern saints, whether Christian or Moslem, who father the children of Syrian mothers, are nothing but the old gods under a thin disguise. If in antiquity as at the present day Semitic women often repaired to shrines in order to have the reproach of barrenness removed from them—and the prayer of Hannah is a familiar example of the practice—we could easily understand not only the tradition of the sons of God who begat children on the daughters of men, but also the exceedingly common occurrence of the divine titles in Hebrew names of human beings. Multitudes of men and women, in fact, whose mothers had resorted to holy places in order to procure offspring, would be regarded as the actual children of the god and would be named accordingly. Hence Hannah called her infant Samuel, which means "name of God" or "his name is God", and probably she sincerely believed that the child was actually begotten in her womb by the deity. The dedication of such children to the service of God at the sanctuary was merely giving back the divine son to the divine father. Similarly in West Africa, when a woman has got a child at the shrine of Agbasia, the god who alone bestows offspring on women, she dedicates him or her as a sacred slave to the deity.

Thus in the Syrian beliefs and customs of to-day we probably have the clue to the religious prostitution practised in the very same regions in antiquity. Then

as now women looked to the local god, the Baal or Adonis of old, the Abu Rabah or St George of to-day, to satisfy the natural craving of a woman's heart; and then as now, apparently, the part of the local god was played by sacred men, who in personating him may often have sincerely believed that they were acting under divine inspiration, and that the functions which they discharged were necessary for the fertility of the land as well as for the propagation of the human species. The purifying influence of Christianity and Mohammedanism has restricted such customs within narrow limits, even under Turkish rule they are now only carried on in holes and corners. Yet if the practice has dwindled, the principle which it embodies appears to be fundamentally the same, it is a desire for the continuance of the species, and a belief that an object so natural and legitimate can be accomplished by divine power manifesting itself in the bodies of men and women.

The belief in the physical fatherhood of God has not been confined to Syria in ancient and modern times. Elsewhere many men have been counted the sons of God in the most literal sense of the word, being supposed to have been begotten by his holy spirit in the wombs of mortal women. Here I shall merely illustrate the creed by a few examples drawn from classical antiquity. Thus in order to obtain offspring women used to resort to the great sanctuary of Aesculapius, situated in a beautiful upland valley, to which a path, winding through a long wooded gorge, leads from the bay of Epidaurus. Here the women slept in the holy place and were visited in dreams by a serpent, and the children to whom they afterwards gave birth were believed to have been begotten by the reptile. That the serpent was supposed to be the god himself seems certain, for Aesculapius repeatedly appeared in the form of a serpent, and live serpents were kept and fed in his sanctuaries for the healing of the sick, being no doubt regarded as

his incarnations Hence the children born to women who had thus visited a sanctuary of Aesculapius were probably fathered on the serpent-god Many celebrated men in classical antiquity were thus promoted to the heavenly hierarchy by similar legends of a miraculous birth The famous Aratus of Sicyon was certainly believed by his countrymen to be a son of Aesculapius, his mother is said to have got him in intercourse with a serpent Probably she slept either in the shrine of Aesculapius at Sicyon, where a figurine of her was shown seated on a serpent, or perhaps in the more secluded sanctuary of the god at Titane, not many miles off, where the sacred serpents crawled among ancient cypresses on the hill-top which overlooks the narrow green valley of the Asopus with the white turbid river rushing in its depths There, under the shadow of the cypresses, with the murmur of the Asopus in her ears, the mother of Aratus may have conceived, or fancied she conceived, the future deliverer of his country Again, the mother of Augustus is said to have got him by intercourse with a serpent in a temple of Apollo, hence the emperor was reputed to be the son of that god Similar tales were told of the Messenian hero Aristomenes, Alexander the Great, and the elder Scipio all of them were reported to have been begotten by snakes In the time of Herod, a serpent, according to Aelian, in like manner made love to a Judean maid Can the story be a distorted rumour of the parentage of Christ?

In India even stone serpents are credited with a power of bestowing offspring on women Thus the Komatis of Mysore "worship *Nāga* or the serpent-god This worship is generally confined to women and is carried on on a large scale once a year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of *Srāvana* (July and August) The representations of serpents are cut in stone slabs and are set up round an *Asvattha* tree on a platform, on which is also generally planted a

margosa tree These snakes in stones are set up in performance of vows and are said to be specially efficacious in curing bad sores and other skin diseases and in giving children The women go to such places for worship with milk, fruits, and flowers on the prescribed day which is observed as a feast day." They wash the stones, smear them with turmeric, and offer them curds and fruits Sometimes they search out the dens of serpents and pour milk into the holes for the live reptiles

§ 7 *Reincarnation of the Dead*

The reason why snakes were so often supposed to be the fathers of human beings is probably to be found in the common belief that the dead come to life and revisit their old homes in the shape of serpents

This notion is widely spread in Africa, especially among tribes of the Bantu stock It is held, for example, by the Zulus, the Thonga, and other Caffre tribes of South Africa, by the Ngoni of British Central Africa, by the Wabondei, the Masai, the Suk, the Nandi, and the Akikuyu of German and British East Africa, and by the Dinkas of the Upper Nile It prevails also among the Betsileo and other tribes of Madagascar Among the Iban or Sea Dyaks of Borneo a man's guardian spirit (*Tua*) "has its external manifestation in a snake, a leopard or some other denizen of the forest It is supposed to be the spirit of some ancestor renowned for bravery or some other virtue who at death has taken an animal form It is a custom among the Iban when a person of note in the tribe dies, not to bury the body but to place it on a neighbouring hill or in some solitary spot above ground A quantity of food is taken to the place every day, and if after a few days the body disappears, the deceased is said to have become a *Tua* or guardian spirit People who have been suffering from some chronic complaint often go to such a tomb, taking with them an offering to the soul

of the deceased to obtain his help To such it is revealed in a dream what animal form the honoured dead has taken The most frequent form is that of a snake Thus when a snake is found in a Dyak house it is seldom killed or driven away, food is offered to it, for it is a guardian spirit who has come to inquire after the welfare of its clients and bring them good luck Anything that may be found in the mouth of such a snake is taken and kept as a charm " Similarly in Kiriwina, an island of the Trobriands Group, to the east of New Guinea, " the natives regarded the snake as one of their ancestral chiefs, or rather as the abode of his spirit, and when one was seen in a house it was believed that the chief was paying a visit to his old home The natives considered this as an ill omen and so always tried to persuade the animal to depart as soon as possible The honours of a chief were paid to the snake the natives passed it in a crouching posture, and as they did so, saluted it as a chief of high rank Native property was presented to it as an appeasing gift, accompanied by prayers that it would not do them any harm, but would go away quickly. They dared not kill the snake, for its death would bring disease and death upon those who did so "

Where serpents are thus viewed as ancestors come to life, the people naturally treat them with great respect and often feed them with milk, perhaps because milk is the food of human babes and the reptiles are treated as human beings in embryo, who can be born again from women Thus " the Zulu-Caffres imagine that their ancestors generally visit them under the form of serpents As soon, therefore, as one of these reptiles appears near their dwellings, they hasten to salute it by the name of *father*, place bowls of milk in its way, and turn it back gently, and with the greatest respect " Among the Masai of East Africa, " when a medicine-man or a rich person dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots, and the snake goes to his children's

kraal to look after them. The Masai in consequence do not kill their sacred snakes, and if a woman sees one in her hut, she pours some milk on the ground for it to lick, after which it will go away." Among the Nandi of British East Africa, "if a snake goes on to the woman's bed, it may not be killed, as it is believed that it personifies the spirit of a deceased ancestor or relation, and that it has been sent to intimate to the woman that her next child will be born safely. Milk is put on the ground for it to drink, and the man or his wife says 'If thou wantest the call, come, thou art being called.' It is then allowed to leave the house. If a snake enters the houses of old people they give it milk, and say 'If thou wantest the call, go to the huts of the children,' and they drive it away." This association of the serpent, regarded as an incarnation of the dead, both with the marriage bed and with the huts of young people, points to a belief that the deceased person who is incarnate in the snake may be born again as a human child into the world. Again, among the Suk of British East Africa "it seems to be generally believed that a man's spirit passes into a snake at death. If a snake enters a house, the spirit of the dead man is believed to be very hungry. Milk is poured on to its tracks, and a little meat and tobacco placed on the ground for it to eat. It is believed that if no food is given to the snake one or all of the members of the household will die. It, however, may none the less be killed if encountered outside the house, and if at the time of its death it is inhabited by the spirit of a dead man, 'that spirit dies also'." The Akikuyu of British East Africa, who similarly believe that snakes are *ngoma* or spirits of the departed, "do not kill a snake, but pour out honey and milk for it to drink, which they say it licks up and then goes its way. If a man causes the death of a snake he must without delay summon the senior Elders in the village and slaughter a sheep,

which they eat and cut a *rukwaru* from the skin of its right shoulder for the offender to wear on his right wrist, if this ceremony is neglected he, his wife and his children will die." Among the Baganda the python god Selwanga had his temple on the shore of the lake Victoria Nyanza, where he dwelt in the form of a live python. The temple was a hut of the ordinary conical shape with a round hole in the wall, through which the sinuous deity crawled out and in at his pleasure. A woman lived in the temple, and it was her duty to feed the python daily with fresh milk from a wooden bowl, which she held out to the divine reptile while he drained it. The serpent was thought to be the giver of children, hence young couples living in the neighbourhood always came to the shrine to ensure the blessing of the god on their union, and childless women repaired from long distances to be relieved by him from the curse of barrenness. It is not said that this python god embodied the soul of a dead ancestor, but it may have been so, his power of bestowing offspring on women suggests it.

The Romans and Greeks appear to have also believed that the souls of the dead were incarnate in the bodies of serpents. Among the Romans the regular symbol of the *genius* or guardian spirit of every man was a serpent, and in Roman houses serpents were lodged and fed in such numbers that if their swarms had not been sometimes reduced by conflagrations there would have been no living for them. In Greek legend Cadmus and his wife Harmonia were turned at death into snakes. When the Spartan king Cleomenes was slain and crucified in Egypt, a great serpent coiled round his head on the cross and kept off the vultures from his face. The people regarded the prodigy as a proof that Cleomenes was a son of the gods. Again, when Plotinus lay dying, a snake crawled from under his bed and disappeared into a hole in the wall, and at the same moment the philosopher expired. Apparently superstition saw

in these serpents the souls of the dead men. In Greek religion the serpent was indeed the regular symbol or attribute of the worshipful dead, and we can hardly doubt that the early Greeks, like the Zulus and other African tribes at the present day, really believed the soul of the departed to be lodged in the reptile. The sacred serpent which lived in the Erechtheum at Athens, and was fed with honey-cakes once a month, may have been supposed to house the soul of the dead king Erechtheus, who had reigned in his lifetime on the same spot. Perhaps the libations of milk which the Greeks poured upon graves were intended to be drunk by serpents as the embodiments of the deceased, on two tombstones found at Tegea a man and a woman are respectively represented holding out to a serpent a cup which may be supposed to contain milk. We have seen that various African tribes feed serpents with milk because they imagine the reptiles to be incarnations of their dead kinsfolk, and the Dinkas, who practise the custom, also pour milk on the graves of their friends for some time after the burial. It is possible that a common type in Greek art, which exhibits a woman feeding a serpent out of a saucer, may have been borrowed from a practice of thus ministering to the souls of the departed.

Further, at the sowing festival of the Thesmophoria, held by Greek women in October, it was customary to throw cakes and pigs to serpents, which lived in caverns or vaults sacred to the corn-goddess Demeter. We may guess that the serpents thus propitiated were deemed to be incarnations of dead men and women, who might easily be incommoded in their earthy beds by the operations of husbandry. What indeed could be more disturbing than to have the roof of the narrow house shaken and rent over their heads by clumsy oxen dragging a plough up and down on the top of it? No wonder that at such times it was thought desirable to appease them with offerings. Sometimes,

however, it is not the dead but the Earth Goddess herself who is disturbed by the husbandman. An Indian prophet at Priest Rapids, on the Middle Columbia River, dissuaded his many followers from tilling the ground because "it is a sin to wound or cut, tear up, or scratch our common mother by agricultural pursuits." "You ask me," said this Indian sage, "to plough the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? You ask me to cut grass and hay and sell it and be rich like white men. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?" The Baigas, a primitive Dravidian tribe of the Central Provinces in India, used to practise a fitful and migratory agriculture, burning down patches of jungle and sowing seed in the soil fertilized by the ashes after the breaking of the rains. "One explanation of their refusal to till the ground is that they consider it a sin to lacerate the breast of their mother earth with a ploughshare." In China the disturbance caused to the earth-spirits by the operations of digging and ploughing was so very serious that Chinese philosophy appears to have contemplated a plan for allowing the perturbed spirits a close time by forbidding the farmer to put his spade or his plough into the ground except on certain days, when the earth-spirits were either not at home or kindly consented to put up with some temporary inconvenience for the good of man. This we may infer from a passage in a Chinese author who wrote in the first century of our era. "If it is true," he says, "that the spirits who inhabit the soil object to it being disturbed and dug up, then it is proper for us to select special good days for digging ditches and ploughing our fields. (But this is never done), it therefore follows that the spirits of the soil, even though really annoyed when it is disturbed, pass over such an offence if man commits it without evil intent. As he commits it merely to ensure his rest and comfort,

the act cannot possibly excite any anger against him in the perfect heart of those spirits, and thus being the case, they will not visit him with misfortune even if he do not choose auspicious days for it. But if we believe that the earth-spirits cannot excuse man on account of the object he pursues, and detest him for annoying them by disturbing the ground, what advantage then can he derive from selecting proper days for doing so? "What advantage indeed? In that case the only logical conclusion is, with the Indian prophet, to forbid agriculture altogether, as an impious encroachment on the spiritual world. Few peoples, however, who have once contracted the habit of agriculture are willing to renounce it out of a regard for the higher powers, the utmost concession which they are willing to make to religion in the matter is to prohibit agricultural operations at certain times and seasons, when the exercise of them would be more than usually painful to the earth-spirits. Thus in Bengal the chief festival in honour of Mother Earth is held at the end of the hot season, when she is supposed to suffer from the impurity common to women, and during that time all ploughing, sowing, and other work cease. On a certain day of the year, when offerings are made to the Earth, the Ewe farmer of West Africa will not hoe the ground, and the Ewe weaver will not drive a sharp stake into it, "because the hoe and the stake would wound the Earth and cause her pain." When Ratumambulu, the god who made fruit-trees to blossom and bear fruit, came once a year to Fiji, the people had to live very quietly for a month lest they should disturb him at his important work. During this time they might not plant nor build nor sail about nor go to war, indeed most kinds of work were forbidden. The priests announced the time of the god's arrival and departure. These periods of rest and quiet would seem to be the Indian and Fijian Lent.

Thus behind the Greek notion that women may

conceive by a serpent-god seems to lie the belief that they can conceive by the dead in the form of serpents. If such a belief was ever held, it would be natural that barren women should resort to graves in order to have their wombs quickened, and this may explain why they visited the shrine of the serpent-god Aesculapius for that purpose, the shrine was perhaps at first a grave. It is significant that in Syria the shrines of St George, to which childless women go to get offspring, always include a tomb or the likeness of one, and further, that in the opinion of Syrian peasants at the present day women may, without intercourse with a living man, bear children to a dead husband, a dead saint, or a junnee. In the East Indies also it is still commonly believed that spirits can consort with women and beget children on them. The Olo Ngadjoe of Borneo imagine that albinos are the offspring of the spirit of the moon by mortal women, the pallid hue of the human children naturally reflecting the pallor of their heavenly father.

Such beliefs are closely akin to the idea, entertained by many peoples, that the souls of the dead may pass directly into the wombs of women and be born again as infants. Thus the Hurons used to bury little children beside the paths in the hope that their souls might enter the passing squaws and be born again, and similarly some negroes of West Africa throw the bodies of infants into the bush in order that their souls may choose a new mother from the women who pass by. Among the tribes of the Lower Congo "a baby is always buried near the house of its mother, never in the bush. They think that, if the child is not buried near its mother's house, she will be unlucky and never have any more children." The notion probably is that the dead child, buried near its mother's house, will enter into her womb and be born again, for these people believe in the reincarnation of the dead. They think that "the only new thing about a child is its body. The spirit is old and formerly

belonged to some deceased person or it may have the spirit of some living person " For example, if a child is like its mother, father, or uncle, they imagine that it must have the spirit of the relative whom it resembles, and that therefore the person whose soul has thus been abstracted by the infant will soon die Among the Bangalas, a tribe of cannibals in Equatorial Africa, to the north of the Congo, a woman was one day seen digging a hole in the public road Her husband entreated a Belgian officer to let her alone, promising to mend the road afterwards, and explaining that his wife wished to become a mother The good-natured officer complied with his request and watched the woman She continued to dig till she had uncovered a little skeleton, the remains of her first-born, which she tenderly embraced, humbly entreating the dead child to enter into her and give her again a mother's joy The officer rightly did not smile The Bagishu, a Bantu tribe of Mount Elgon, in the Uganda Protectorate, practise the custom of throwing out their dead " except in the case of the youngest child or the old grandfather or grandmother, for whom, like the child, a prolonged life on earth is desired When it is desired to perpetuate on the earth the life of some old man or woman, or that of some young baby, the corpse is buried inside the house or just under the eaves, until another child is born to the nearest relation of the corpse This child, male or female, takes the name of the corpse, and the Bagishu firmly believe that the spirit of the dead has passed into this new child and lives again on earth The remains are then dug up and thrown out into the open "

Again, just as measures are adopted to facilitate the rebirth of good ghosts, so on the other hand precautions are taken to prevent the rebirth of bad ones Thus, with regard to the Baganda of Central Africa we read that, " while the present generation know the cause of pregnancy, the people in the earlier

times were uncertain as to its real cause, and thought that it was possible to conceive without any intercourse with the male sex. Hence their precautions in passing places where either a suicide had been burnt, or a child born feet first had been buried. Women were careful to throw grass or sticks on such a spot, for by so doing they thought that they could prevent the ghost of the dead from entering into them, and being reborn." The fear of being got with child by such ghosts was not confined to married women, it was shared by all women alike, whether young or old, whether married or single, and all of them sought to avert the danger in the same way. And Baganda women imagined that without the help of the other sex they could be impregnated not only by these unpleasant ghosts but also by the flower of the banana. If while a woman was busy in her garden under the shadow of the banana trees, a great purple bloom chanced to fall from one of the trees on her back or shoulders, it was quite enough, in the opinion of the Baganda, to get her with child, and were a wife accused of adultery because she gave birth to a child who could not possibly have been begotten by her husband, she had only to father the infant on a banana flower to be honourably acquitted of the charge. The reason why this remarkable property was ascribed to the bloom of the banana would seem to be that ghosts of ancestors were thought to haunt banana groves, and that the afterbirths of children, which the Baganda regarded as twins of the children, were commonly buried at the root of the trees. What more natural than that a ghost should lurk in each flower, and dropping adroitly in the likeness of a blossom on a woman's back effect a lodgment in her womb?

Again, when a child dies in Northern India it is usually buried under the threshold of the house, "in the belief that as the parents tread daily over its grave, its soul will be reborn in the family. Here, as Mr

Rose suggests, we reach an explanation of the rule that children of Hindus are buried, not cremated. Their souls do not pass into the ether with the smoke of the pyre, but remain on earth to be reincarnated in the household." In the Punjab this belief in the reincarnation of dead infants gives rise to some quaint or pathetic customs. Thus, "in the Hissar District, Bishnois bury dead infants at the threshold, in the belief that it would facilitate the return of the soul to the mother. The practice is also in vogue in the Kangra District, where the body is buried in front of the back door. In some places it is believed that, if the child dies in infancy and the mother drops her milk for two or three days on the ground, the soul of the child comes back to be born again. For this purpose milk diluted with water is placed in a small earthen pot and offered to the dead child's spirit for three consecutive evenings. There is also a belief in the Ambala and Gujrat Districts that if jackals and dogs dig out the dead body of the child and bring it towards the town or village, it means that the child will return to its mother, but if they take it to some other side, the soul will reincarnate in some other family. For this purpose, the second day after the infant's death, the mother goes out early in the morning to see whether the dogs have brought the body towards the village. When the child is being taken away for burial the mother cuts off and preserves a piece of its garment with a view to persuade the soul to return to her. Barren women or those who have lost children in infancy tear a piece off the clothing of a dead child and stitch it to their wearing apparel, believing that the soul of the child will return to them instead of its own mother. On this account, people take great care not to lose the clothes of dead children, and some bury them in the house." In Bilaspore "a still-born child, or one who has passed away before the *Chhatti* (the sixth day, the day of purification) is not taken out of the house for burial,

but is placed in an earthen vessel and is buried in the doorway or in the yard of the house. Some say that this is done in order that the mother may bear another child." Here in Bilaspore the people have devised a very simple way of identifying a dead person when he or she is born again as an infant. When anybody dies, they mark the body with soot or oil, and the next baby born in the family with a similar mark is hailed as the departed come to life again. Among the Kois of the Godavari district, in Southern India, the dead are usually burnt, but the bodies of children and of young men and women are buried. If a child dies within a month of its birth, it is generally buried close to the house "so that the rain, dripping from the eaves, may fall upon the grave, and thereby cause the parents to be blessed with another child." Apparently it is supposed that the soul of the dead child, refreshed and revived by the rain, will pass again into the mother's womb. Indian criminal records contain many cases in which "the ceremonial killing of a male child has been performed as a cure for barrenness, the theory being that the soul of the murdered boy becomes reincarnated in the woman, who performs the rite with a desire to secure offspring. Usually she effects union with the spirit of the child by bathing over its body or in the water in which the corpse has been washed. Cases have recently occurred in which the woman actually bathed in the blood of the child."

On the fifth day after a death the Gonds perform the ceremony of bringing back the soul. They go to the bank of a river, call aloud the name of the deceased, and entering the water catch a fish or an insect. This creature they then take home and place among the sainted dead of the family, supposing that in this manner the spirit of the departed has been brought back to the house. Sometimes the fish or insect is eaten in the belief that it will be thus reborn as a child. This last custom explains the widely

diffused story of virgins who have conceived by eating of a plant or an animal or merely by taking it to their bosom. In all such cases we may surmise that the plant or animal was thought to contain the soul of a dead person, which thus passed into the virgin's womb and was born again as an infant. Among the South Slavs childless women often resort to a grave in which a pregnant woman is buried. There they bite some grass from the grave, invoke the deceased by name, and beg her to give them the fruit of her womb. After that they take a little of the mould from the grave and carry it about with them thenceforth under their girdle. Apparently they imagine that the soul of the unborn infant is in the grass or the mould and will pass from it into their body.

Among the Kai of German New Guinea, "impossible as it may be thought, it is yet a fact that women here and there deny in all seriousness the connexion between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. Of course most people are clear as to the process. The ignorance of some individuals is perhaps based on the consideration that not uncommonly married women remain childless for years or for life. Finally, the animistic faith contributes its share to support the ignorance." In some islands of Southern Melanesia the natives appear similarly to believe that sexual intercourse is not necessary to impregnation, and that a woman can conceive through the simple passage into her womb of a spirit-animal or a spirit-fruit without the help of a man. In the island of Mota, one of the Banks group, "the course of events is usually as follows: a woman sitting down in her garden or in the bush or on the shore finds an animal or fruit in her loincloth. She takes it up and carries it to the village, where she asks the meaning of the appearance. The people say that she will give birth to a child who will have the characters of this animal or even, it appeared, would be himself or herself the animal. The woman then takes the creature back to the place

where she had found it and places it in its proper home if it is a land animal on the land, if a water animal in the pool or stream from which it had probably come. She builds up a wall round it and goes to feed and visit it every day. After a time the animal will disappear, and it is believed that that is because the animal has at the time of its disappearance entered into the woman. It seemed quite clear that there was no belief in physical impregnation on the part of the animal, nor of the entry of a material object in the form of the animal into her womb, but so far as I could gather, an animal found in this way was regarded as more or less supernatural, a spirit animal and not one material, from the beginning. It has happened in the memory of an old man now living in Mota that a woman who has found an animal in her louncloth has carried it carefully in her closed hands to the village, but that when she opened her hands to show it to the people, the animal has gone, and in this case it was believed that the entry had taken place while the woman was on her way from the bush to the village. When the child is born it is regarded as being in some sense the animal or fruit which had been found and tended by the mother. The child may not eat the animal during the whole of its life, and if it does so, will suffer serious illness, if not death. If it is a fruit which has been found, the child may not eat this fruit or touch the tree on which it grows, the latter restriction remaining in those cases in which the fruit is inedible. I inquired into the idea at the bottom of the prohibition of the animal as food, and it appeared to be that the person would be eating himself. It seemed that the act would be regarded as a kind of cannibalism. It was evident that there is a belief in the most intimate relation between the person and all individuals of the species with which he is identified.

“A further aspect of the belief in the animal nature of a child is that it partakes of the physical and mental

characters of the animal with which it is identified. Thus, if the animal found has been a sea-snake, and this is a frequent occurrence, the child would be weak, indolent and slow, if an eel, there will be a similar disposition, if a hermit crab, the child will be hot-tempered, if a flying fox, it will also be hot-tempered and the body will be dark, if a brush turkey, the disposition will be good, if a lizard, the child will be soft and gentle, if a rat, thoughtless, hasty and intemperate. If the object found has been a fruit, here also the child will partake of its nature. In the case of a wild Malay apple (*malmalagaviga*) the child will have a big belly, and a person with this condition will be asked, 'Do you come from the *malmalagaviga*?' Again, if the fruit is one called *womakaraqat*, the child will have a good disposition.

"In the island of Motlav not far from Mota they have the same belief that if a mother has found an animal in her dress, the child will be identified with that animal and will not be allowed to eat it. Here again the child is believed to have the characters of the animal, and two instances given were that a child identified with a yellow crab will have a good disposition and be of a light colour, while if a hermit crab has been found, the child will be angry and disagreeable. In this island a woman who desires her child to have certain characters will frequent a place where she will be likely to encounter the animal which causes the appearance of these characters. Thus, if she wants to have a light-coloured child, she will go to a place where there are light-coloured crabs."

Throughout a large part of Australia, particularly in the Centre, the North, and the West, the aborigines hold that the commerce of the human sexes is not necessary to the production of children, indeed many of them go further and deny that sexual intercourse is the real cause of the propagation of the species. Among the Arunta, Kaitish, Luritja, Ilpirra and other tribes, who roam the barren steppes of Central

Australia, it appears to be a universal article of belief that every person is the reincarnation of a deceased ancestor, and that the souls of the dead pass directly into the wombs of women, who give them birth without the need of commerce with the other sex. They think that the spirits of the departed gather and dwell at particular spots, marked by a natural feature such as a rock or a tree, and that from these lurking-places they dart out and enter the bodies of passing women or girls. When a woman feels her womb quickened, she knows that a spirit has made its way into her from the nearest abode of the dead. This is their regular explanation of conception and childbirth. "The natives, one and all in these tribes, believe that the child is the direct result of the entrance into the mother of an ancestral spirit individual. They have no idea of procreation as being associated with sexual intercourse, and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place." The spots where the souls thus congregate waiting to be born again are usually the places where the remote ancestors of the dream-time are said to have passed into the ground, that is, they are the places where the forefathers of the tribe are supposed to have died or to have been buried. For example, in the Warra-munga tribe the ancestor of the Black-snake clan is said to have left many spirits of Black-snake children in the rocks and trees which border a certain creek. Hence no woman at the present day dares to strike one of these trees with an axe, being quite convinced that the blow would release one of the spirit-children, who would at once enter her body. They imagine that the spirit is no larger than a grain of sand, and that it enters the woman through her navel and grows into a child in her womb. Again, at several places in the wide territory of the Arunta tribe there are certain stones which are in like manner thought to be the abode of souls awaiting rebirth. Hence the stones are called "child-stones." In one of them

Again, there are lagoons along the Roper River where red lilies grow, and the water is full of spirit-children which were deposited there by a kangaroo man. So when women of the Gnaritjbellan subclass wade into the water to gather lilies, little sprites swarm up their legs and are born as kangaroo children. Again, in the territory of the Nullakun tribe there is a certain spring where a man once deposited spirit-children of the rainbow totem, and to this day when a woman of the right totem comes to drink at the spring, the spirit of a rainbow child will dart into her and be born. Once more, in the territory of the Yungman tribe the trees and stones near Elsey Creek are full of spirit-children who belong to the sugar-bag (honey-comb) totem, and these sugar-bag children are constantly entering into the right women and being born into the world.

The natives of the Tully River in Queensland do not recognize sexual intercourse as a cause of conception in women, though curiously enough they do recognize it as the cause of conception in all animals, and pride themselves on their superiority to the brutes in that they are not indebted for the continuance of their species to such low and vulgar means. The true causes of conception in a woman, according to them, are four in number. First, she may have received a particular species of black bream from a man whom the European in his ignorance would call the father, this she may have roasted and sat over the fire inhaling the savoury smell of the roast fish. That is quite sufficient to get her with child. Or, secondly, she may have gone out on purpose to catch a certain kind of bull-frog, and if she succeeds in capturing it, that again is a full and satisfactory explanation of her pregnancy. Thirdly, some man may have told her to conceive a child, and the mere command produces the desired effect. Or, fourth and lastly, she may have simply dreamed that the child was put into her, and the dream necessarily

works its own fulfilment. Whatever white men may think about the matter, these are the real causes why babies are born among the blacks on the Tully River. About Cape Bedford in Queensland the natives believe that babies are sent by certain long-haired spirits, with two sets of eyes in the front and back of their heads, who live in the dense scrub and under-wood. The children are made in the far west where the sun goes down, and they are made not in the form of infants but full grown, but on their passage from the sunset land to the wombs they are changed into the shape of spur-winged plovers, if they are girls, or of pretty snakes, if they are boys. So when the cry of a plover is heard by night, the blacks prick up their ears and say, "Hallo! there is a baby somewhere about." And if a woman is out in the bush searching for food and sees one of the pretty snakes, which are really baby boys on the look out for mothers, she will call out to her mates, and they will come running and turn over stones, and leaves, and logs in the search for the snake, and if they cannot find it they know that it has gone into the woman and that she will soon give birth to a baby boy. On the Pennefather River in Queensland the being who puts babies into women is called Anje-a. He takes a lump of mud out of one of the mangrove swamps, moulds it into the shape of an infant, and insinuates it into a woman's womb. You can never see him, for he lives in the depths of the woods, among the rocks, and along the mangrove swamps, but sometimes you can hear him laughing there to himself, and when you hear him you may know that he has got a baby ready for somebody. Among the tribes of the Cairns district in North Queensland "the acceptance of food from a man by a woman was not merely regarded as a marriage ceremony, but as the actual cause of conception."

Similarly among the Australian tribes of the Northern Territory, about Port Darwin and the

Daly River, especially among the Larrekiya and Wogait, "conception is not regarded as a direct result of cohabitation" The old men of the Wogait say that there is an evil spirit who takes babies from a big fire and puts them in the wombs of women, who must give birth to them In the ordinary course of events, when a man is out hunting and kills game or collects other food, he gives it to his wife and she eats it, believing that the game or other food will cause her to conceive and bring forth a child When the child is born, it may on no account partake of the food which caused conception in the mother until it has got its first teeth A similar belief that conception is caused by the food which a woman eats is held by some tribes of Western Australia On this subject Mr A R Brown reports as follows "In the Ingarda tribe at the mouth of the Gascoyne River, I found a belief that a child is the product of some food of which the mother has partaken just before her first sickness in pregnancy My principal informant on this subject told me that his father had speared a small animal called *bandaru*, probably a bandicoot, but now extinct in this neighbourhood His mother ate the animal, with the result that she gave birth to my informant He showed me the mark in his side where, as he said, he had been speared by his father before being eaten by his mother A little girl was pointed out to me as being the result of her mother eating a domestic cat, and her brother was said to have been produced from a bustard The bustard was one of the totems of the father of these two children and, therefore, of the children themselves This, however, seems to have been purely accidental In most cases the animal to which conception is due is not one of the father's totems The species that is thus connected with an individual by birth is not in any way sacred to him He may kill or eat it, he may marry a woman whose conceptional animal is of the same species, and he is.

not by the accident of his birth entitled to take part in the totemic ceremonies connected with it

" I found traces of this same belief in a number of tribes north of the Ingarda, but everywhere the belief seemed to be sporadic, that is to say, some persons believed in it and others did not. Some individuals could tell the animal or plant from which they or others were descended, while others did not know or in some cases denied that conception was so caused. There were to be met with, however, some beliefs of the same character. A woman of the Buduna tribe said that native women nowadays bear half-caste children because they eat bread made of white flour. Many of the men believed that conception is due to sexual intercourse, but as these natives have been for many years in contact with the whites this cannot be regarded as satisfactory evidence of the nature of their original beliefs.

" In some tribes further to the north I found a more interesting and better organized system of beliefs. In the Kariera, Namal, and Injibandi tribes the conception of a child is believed to be due to the agency of a particular man, who is not the father. This man is the *wororu* of the child when it is born. There were three different accounts of how the *wororu* produces conception, each of them given to me on several different occasions. According to the first, the man gives some food, either animal or vegetable, to the woman, and she eats this and becomes pregnant. According to the second, the man when he is out hunting kills an animal, preferably a kangaroo or an emu, and as it is dying he tells its spirit or ghost to go to a particular woman. The spirit of the dead animal goes into the woman and is born as a child. The third account is very similar to the last. A hunter, when he has killed a kangaroo or an emu, takes a portion of the fat of the dead animal, which he places on one side. This fat turns into what we may speak of as a spirit-baby, and follows the man to

his camp When the man is asleep at night the spirit-baby comes to him and he directs it to enter a certain woman, who thus becomes pregnant When the child is born the man acknowledges that he sent it, and becomes its *wororu* In practically every case that I examined, some forty in all, the *wororu* of a man or woman was a person standing to him or her in the relation of father's brother own or tribal In one case a man had a *wororu* who was his father's sister The duties of a man to his *wororu* are very vaguely defined I was told that a man 'looks after' his *wororu*, that is, performs small services for him, and, perhaps, gives him food The conceptional animal or plant is not the totem of either the child or the *wororu* The child has no particular magical connexion with the animal from which he is derived In a very large number of cases that animal is either the kangaroo or the emu "

Thus it appears that a childlike ignorance as to the physical process of procreation still prevails to some extent among certain rude races of mankind, who are accordingly driven to account for it in various fanciful ways such as might content the curiosity of children We may safely assume that formerly a like ignorance was far more widely spread than it is now, indeed in the long ages which elapsed before any portion of mankind emerged from savagery, it is probable that the true cause of childbirth was universally unknown, and that people made shift to explain the mystery by some such theories as are still current among the savage or barbarous races of Central Africa, Melanesia, and Australia A little reflection on the conditions of savage life may satisfy us that the ignorance is by no means so surprising as it may seem at first sight to a civilized observer, or, to put it otherwise, that the true cause of the birth of children is not nearly so obvious as we are apt to think Among low savages, such as all men were originally, it is customary for boys and girls to cohabit freely with each other under

the age of puberty, so that they are familiar with a commerce of the sexes which is not and cannot be attended with the birth of children. It is, therefore, not very wonderful that they should confidently deny the connexion of sexual intercourse with the production of offspring. Again, the long interval of time which divides the act of conception from the first manifest symptoms of pregnancy might easily disguise from the heedless savage the vital relation between the two. These considerations may remove or lessen the hesitation which civilized man naturally feels at admitting that a considerable part or even the whole of his species should ever have doubted or denied what seems to him one of the most obvious and elementary truths of nature.

In the light of the foregoing evidence, stories of the miraculous birth of gods and heroes from virgin mothers lose much of the glamour that encircled them in days of old, and we view them simply as relics of superstition surviving like fossils to tell us of a bygone age of childlike ignorance and credulity.

§ 8 *Sacred Stocks and Stones among the Semites*

Traces of beliefs and customs like the foregoing may perhaps be detected among the ancient Semites. When the prophet Jeremiah speaks of the Israelites who said to a stock or to a tree (for in Hebrew the words are the same), "Thou art my father," and to a stone, "Thou hast brought me forth," it is probable that he was not using vague rhetorical language, but denouncing real beliefs current among his contemporaries. Now we know that at all the old Canaanite sanctuaries, including the sanctuaries of Jehovah down to the reformatations of Hezekiah and Josiah, the two regular objects of worship were a sacred stock and a sacred stone, and that these sanctuaries were the seats of profligate rites performed by sacred men (*kedeshim*) and sacred women (*kedeshoth*). Is it not natural to suppose that the stock and stone

which the superstitious Israelites regarded as their father and mother were the sacred stock (*asherah*) and the sacred stone (*massebah*) of the sanctuary, and that the children born of the loose intercourse of the sexes at these places were believed to be the offspring or emanations of these uncouth but worshipful idols in which, as in the sacred trees and stones of Central Australia, the souls of the dead may have been supposed to await rebirth? On this view the sacred men and women who actually begot or bore the children were deemed the human embodiments of the two divinities, the men perhaps personating the sacred stock, which appears to have been a tree stripped of its branches, and the women personating the sacred stone, which seems to have been in the shape of a cone, an obelisk, or a pillar

These conclusions are confirmed by the result of recent researches at Gezer, an ancient Canaanitish city, which occupied a high, isolated point on the southern border of Ephraim, between Jerusalem and the sea. Here the English excavations have laid bare the remains of a sanctuary with the sacred stone pillars or obelisks (*masseboth*) still standing in a row, while between two of them is set a large socketed stone, beautifully squared, which perhaps contained the sacred stock or pole (*asherah*). In the soil which had accumulated over the floor of the temple were found vast numbers of male emblems rudely carved out of soft limestone, and tablets of terra-cotta, representing in low relief the mother-goddess, were discovered throughout the strata. These objects were no doubt votive-offerings presented by the worshippers to the male and female deities who were represented by the sacred stock and the sacred stones, and their occurrence in large quantities raises a strong presumption that the divinities of the sanctuary were a god and goddess regarded as above all sources of fertility. The supposition is further strengthened by a very remarkable discovery. Under the floor of the

temple were found the bones of many new-born children, none more than a week old, buried in large jars. None of these little bodies showed any trace of mutilation or violence, and in the light of the customs practised in many other lands we seem to be justified in conjecturing that the infants were still-born or died soon after birth, and that they were buried by their parents in the sanctuary in the hope that, quickened by the divine power, they might enter again into the mother's womb and again be born into the world. If the souls of these buried babes were supposed to pass into the sacred stocks and stones and to dart from them into the bodies of would-be mothers who resorted to the sanctuary, the analogy with Central Australia would be complete. That the analogy is real and not fanciful is strongly suggested by the modern practice of Syrian women who still repair to the shrines of saints to procure offspring, and who still look on "holy men" as human embodiments of divinity. In this, as in many other dark places of superstition, the present is the best guide to the interpretation of the past, for while the higher forms of religious faith pass away like clouds, the lower stand firm and indestructible like rocks. The "sacred men" of one age are the dervishes of the next, the Adonis of yesterday is the St. George of to-day.

CHAPTER V

THE BURNING OF MELCARTH

IF a custom of putting a king or his son to death in the character of a god has left small traces of itself in Cyprus, an island where the fierce zeal of Semitic religion was early tempered by Greek humanity, the vestiges of that gloomy rite are clearer in Phoenicia itself and in the Phoenician colonies, which lay more remote from the highways of Grecian commerce. We know that the Semites were in the habit of sacrificing some of their children, generally the first-born, either as a tribute regularly due to the deity or to appease his anger in seasons of public danger and calamity. If commoners did so, is it likely that kings, with all their heavy responsibilities, could exempt themselves from this dreadful sacrifice for the fatherland? In point of fact, history informs us that kings steeled themselves to do as others did. It deserves to be noticed that if Mesha, king of Moab, who sacrificed his eldest son by fire, claimed to be a son of his god, he would no doubt transmit his divinity to his offspring, and further, that the same sacrifice is said to have been performed in the same way by the divine founder of Byblus, the great seat of the worship of Adonis. This suggests that the human representatives of Adonis formerly perished in the flames. At all events, a custom of periodically burning the chief god of the city in effigy appears to have prevailed at Tyre and in the Tyrian colonies down to a late time, and the effigy may well have been a later substitute for a man. For Melcarth, the great god of Tyre, was identified by the Greeks with Hercules, who is said to have burned him-

self to death on a great pyre, ascending up to heaven in a cloud and a peal of thunder. The common Greek legend, immortalized by Sophocles, laid the scene of the fiery tragedy on the top of Mount Oeta, but another version transferred it significantly to Tyre itself. Combined with the other evidence which I shall adduce, this latter tradition raises a strong presumption that an effigy of Hercules, or rather of Melcarth, was regularly burned at a great festival in Tyre. That festival may have been the one known as "the awakening of Hercules," which was held in the month of Peritius, answering nearly to January. The name of the festival suggests that the dramatic representation of the death of the god on the pyre was followed by a semblance of his resurrection. The mode in which the resurrection was supposed to be effected is perhaps indicated by the statement of a Greek writer that the Phoenicians used to sacrifice quails to Hercules, because Hercules on his journey to Libya had been slain by Typhon and brought to life again by Iolaus, who held a quail under his nose—the dead god snuffed at the bird and revived. According to another account Iolaus burnt a quail alive, and the dead hero, who loved quails, came to life again through the savoury smell of the roasted bird. This latter tradition seems to point to a custom of burning the quails alive in the Phœnician sacrifices to Melcarth. A festival of the god's resurrection might appropriately be held in spring, when the quails migrate northwards across the Mediterranean in great bands, and immense numbers of them are netted for the market. In the month of March the birds return to Palestine by myriads in a single night, and remain to breed in all the open plains, marshes, and cornfields. Certainly a close connexion seems to have subsisted between quails and Melcarth, for legend ran that Asteria, the mother of the Tyrian Hercules, that is, of Melcarth, was transformed into a quail. It was probably to this annual festival of the death and resurrection of Melcarth that the Cartha-

ginians were wont to send ambassadors every year to Tyre, their mother-city

In Gades, the modern Cadiz, an early colony of Tyre on the Atlantic coast of Spain, there was an ancient, famous, and wealthy sanctuary of Hercules, the Tyrian Melcarth. Indeed the god was said to be buried on the spot. No image stood in his temple, but a perpetual fire burned on the altar, and incense was offered by white-robed priests, with bare feet and shorn heads, who were bound to chastity. Neither women nor pigs might pollute the holy place by their presence. In later times many distinguished Romans went on pilgrimage to this remote shrine on the Atlantic shore when they were about to embark on some perilous enterprise, and they returned to it to pay their vows when their petitions had been granted. One of the last things Hannibal himself did before he marched on Italy was to repair to Gades and offer up to Melcarth prayers which were never to be answered. Soon after he dreamed an ominous dream. Now it would appear that at Gades, as at Tyre, though no image of Melcarth stood in the temple, an effigy of him was made up and burned at a yearly festival. For a certain Cleon of Magnesia related how, visiting Gades, he was obliged to sail away from the island with the rest of the multitude in obedience to the command of Hercules, that is, of Melcarth, and how on their return they found a monstrous man of the sea stranded on the beach and burning, for the god, they were told, had struck him with a thunderbolt. We may conjecture that at the annual festival of Melcarth strangers were obliged to quit the city, and that in their absence the mystery of burning the god was consummated. What Cleon and the rest saw on their return to Gades would, on this hypothesis, be the smouldering remains of a gigantic effigy of Melcarth in the likeness of a man riding on a sea-horse, just as he is represented on coins of Tyre. In like manner the Greeks portrayed the sea-god Melicertes, whose name is only a slightly altered form

of Melcarth, riding on a dolphin or stretched on the beast's back

At Carthage, the greatest of the Tyrian colonies, a reminiscence of the custom of burning a deity in effigy seems to linger in the story that Dido or Elissa, the foundress and queen of the city, stabbed herself to death upon a pyre, or leaped from her palace into the blazing pile, to escape the fond importunities of one lover or in despair at the cruel desertion of another. We are told that Dido was worshipped as a goddess at Carthage so long as the country maintained its independence. Her temple stood in the centre of the city shaded by a grove of solemn yews and firs. The two apparently contradictory views of her character as a queen and a goddess may be reconciled if we suppose that she was both the one and the other, that in fact the queen of Carthage in early days, like the queen of Egypt down to historical times, was regarded as divine, and had, like human deities elsewhere, to die a violent death either at the end of a fixed period or whenever her bodily and mental powers began to fail. In later ages the stern old custom might be softened down into a pretence by substituting an effigy for the queen or by allowing her to pass through the fire unscathed. A similar modification of the ancient rule appears to have been allowed at Tyre itself, the mother-city of Carthage. We have seen reason to think that the kings of Tyre, from whom Dido was descended, claimed to personate the god Melcarth, and that the deity was burned either in effigy or in the person of a man at an annual festival. Now in the same chapter in which Ezekiel charges the king of Tyre with claiming to be a god, the prophet describes him as walking "up and down amidst the stones of fire." The description becomes at once intelligible if we suppose that in later times the king of Tyre compounded for being burnt in the fire by walking up and down on hot stones, thereby saving his life at the expense perhaps of a few blisters on his feet. It is possible that when all went well with

the commonwealth, children whom strict law doomed to the furnace of Moloch may also have been mercifully allowed to escape on condition of running the fiery gauntlet. At all events, a religious rite of this sort has been and is still practised in many parts of the world. the performers solemnly pace through a furnace of heated stones or glowing wood-ashes in the presence of a multitude of spectators. Examples of the custom have been adduced in another part of this work ¹. Here I will cite only one. At Castabala, in Southern Cappadocia, there was worshipped an Asiatic goddess whom the Greeks called the Perasian Artemis. Her priestesses used to walk barefoot over a fire of charcoal without sustaining any injury. That this rite was a substitute for burning human beings alive or dead is suggested by the tradition which placed the adventure of Orestes and the Tauric Artemis at Castabala, for the men or women sacrificed to the Tauric Artemis were first put to the sword and then burned in a pit of sacred fire. Among the Carthaginians another trace of such a practice may perhaps be detected in the story that at the desperate battle of Himera, fought from dawn of day till late in the evening, the Carthaginian king Hamilcar remained in the camp and kept sacrificing holocausts of victims on a huge pyre, but when he saw his army giving way before the Greeks, he flung himself into the flames and was burned to death. Afterwards his countrymen sacrificed to him and erected a great monument in his honour at Carthage, while lesser monuments were reared to his memory in all the Punic colonies. In public emergencies which called for extraordinary measures a king of Carthage may well have felt bound in honour to sacrifice himself in the old way for the good of his country. That the Carthaginians regarded the death of Hamilcar as an

¹ *Balder the Beautiful*, ii 1 sqq. But, as I have there pointed out, there are grounds for thinking that the custom of walking over fire is not a substitute for human sacrifice, but merely a stringent form of purification.

act of heroism and not as a mere suicide of despair, is proved by the posthumous honours they paid him.

The foregoing evidence, taken altogether, raises a strong presumption, though it cannot be said to amount to a proof, that a practice of burning a deity, and especially Melcarth, in effigy or in the person of a human representative, was observed at an annual festival in Tyre and its colonies. We can thus understand how Hercules, in so far as he represented the Tyrian god, was believed to have perished by a voluntary death on a pyre. For on many a beach and headland of the Aegean, where the Phoenicians had their trading factories, the Greeks may have watched the bale-fires of Melcarth blazing in the darkness of night, and have learned with wonder that the strange foreign folk were burning their god. In this way the legend of the voyages of Hercules and his death in the flames may be supposed to have originated. Yet with the legend the Greeks borrowed the custom of burning the god, for at the festivals of Hercules a pyre used to be kindled in memory of the hero's fiery death on Mount Oeta. We may surmise, though we are not expressly told, that an effigy of Hercules was regularly burned on the pyre.

CHAPTER VI

THE BURNING OF SANDAN

§ 1 *The Baal of Tarsus*

IN Cyprus the Tyrian Melcarth was worshipped side by side with Adonis at Amathus, and Phoenician inscriptions prove that he was revered also at Idalium and Larnax Lapethus. At the last of these places he seems to have been regarded by the Greeks as a marine deity and identified with Poseidon. A remarkable statue found at Amathus may represent Melcarth in the character of the lion-slayer, a character which the Greeks bestowed on Hercules. The statue in question is of colossal size, and exhibits a thick-set, muscular, hirsute deity of almost bestial aspect, with goggle eyes, huge ears, and a pair of stumpy horns on the top of his head. His beard is square and curly, his hair falls in three pigtails on his shoulders, his brawny arms appear to be tattooed. A lion's skin, clasped by a buckle, is knotted round his loins, and he holds the skin of a lioness in front of him, grasping a hind paw with each hand, while the head of the beast, which is missing, hangs down between his legs. A fountain must have issued from the jaws of the lioness, for a rectangular hole, where the beast's head should be, communicates by a channel with another hole in the back of the statue. Greek artists working on this or a similar barbarous model produced the refined type of the Grecian Hercules with the lion's scalp thrown like a cowl over his head. Statues of him have been found in Cyprus, which represent intermediate stages in this artistic evolution. But there is no proof that in

Cyprus the Tyrian Melcarth was burned either in effigy or in the person of a human representative

On the other hand, there is clear evidence of the observance of such a custom in Cilicia, the country which lies across the sea from Cyprus, and from which the worship of Adonis, according to tradition, was derived. Whether the Phoenicians ever colonized Cilicia or not is doubtful, but at all events the natives of the country, down to late times, worshipped a male deity who, in spite of a superficial assimilation to a fashionable Greek god, appears to have been an Oriental by birth and character. He had his principal seat at Tarsus, in a plain of luxuriant fertility and almost tropical climate, tempered by breezes from the snowy range of Taurus on the north and from the sea on the south. Though Tarsus boasted of a school of Greek philosophy which at the beginning of our era surpassed those of Athens and Alexandria, the city apparently remained in manners and spirit essentially Oriental. The women went about the streets muffled up to the eyes in Eastern fashion, and Dio Chrysostom reproaches the natives with resembling the most dissolute of the Phoenicians rather than the Greeks whose civilization they aped. On the coins of the city they assimilated their native deity to Zeus by representing him seated on a throne, the upper part of his body bare, the lower limbs draped in a flowing robe, while in one hand he holds a sceptre, which is topped sometimes with an eagle but often with a lotus flower. Yet his foreign nature is indicated both by his name and his attributes, for in Aramaic inscriptions on the coins he bears the name of the Baal of Tarsus, and in one hand he grasps an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes. These attributes clearly mark him out as a god of fertility in general, who conferred on his worshippers the two things which they prized above all other gifts of nature, the corn and the wine. He was probably therefore a Semitic, or at all events an Oriental, rather than a Greek deity. For while the

Semite cast all his gods more or less in the same mould, and expected them all to render him nearly the same services, the Greek, with his keener intelligence and more pictorial imagination, invested his deities with individual characteristics, allotting to each of them his or her separate function in the divine economy of the world. Thus he assigned the production of the corn to Demeter, and that of the grapes to Dionysus; he was not so unreasonable as to demand both from the same hard-worked deity

§ 2 *The God of Ibreez*

Now the suspicion that the Baal of Tarsus, for all his posing in the attitude of Zeus, was really an Oriental is confirmed by a remarkable rock-hewn monument which is to be seen at Ibreez in Southern Cappadocia. Though the place is distant little more than fifty miles from Tarsus as the crow flies, yet the journey on horseback occupies five days; for the great barrier of the Taurus mountains rises like a wall between. The road runs through the famous pass of the Cilician Gates, and the scenery throughout is of the grandest Alpine character. On all sides the mountains tower skywards, their peaks sheeted in a dazzling pall of snow, their lower slopes veiled in the almost inky blackness of dense pine-forests, torn here and there by impassable ravines, or broken into prodigious precipices of red and grey rock which border the narrow valley for miles. The magnificence of the landscape is enhanced by the exhilarating influence of the brisk mountain air, all the more by contrast with the sultry heat of the plain of Tarsus which the traveller has left behind. When he emerges from the defile on the wide open tableland of Anatolia he feels that in a sense he has passed out of Asia, and that the highroad to Europe lies straight before him. The great mountains on which he now looks back formed for centuries the boundary between the Christian West and the Mohammedan East, on the

southern side lay the domain of the Caliphs, on the northern side the Byzantine Empire. The Taurus was the dam that long repelled the tide of Arab invasion, and though year by year the waves broke through the pass of the Cilician Gates and carried havoc and devastation through the tableland, the reflux waters always retired to the lower level of the Cilician plains. A line of beacon lights stretching from the Taurus to Constantinople flashed to the Byzantine capital tidings of the approach of the Moslem invaders.

The village of Ibreez is charmingly situated at the northern foot of the Taurus, some six or seven miles south of the town of Eregh, the ancient Cybistra. From the town to the village the path goes through a richly cultivated district of wheat and vines along green lanes more lovely than those of Devonshire, lined by thick hedges and rows of willow, poplar, hazel, hawthorn, and huge old walnut-trees, where in early summer the nightingales warble on every side. Ibreez itself is embowered in the verdure of orchards, walnuts, and vines. It stands at the mouth of a deep ravine enclosed by great precipices of red rock. From the western of these precipices a river clear as crystal, but of a deep blue tint, bursts in a powerful jet, and being reinforced by a multitude of springs, becomes at once a raging impassable torrent foaming and leaping with a roar of waters over the rocks in its bed. A little way from the source a branch of the main stream flows in a deep narrow channel along the foot of a reddish weather-stained rock which rises sheer from the water. On its face, which has been smoothed to receive them, are the sculptures. They consist of two colossal figures, representing a god adored by his worshipper. The deity, some fourteen feet high, is a bearded male figure, wearing on his head a high pointed cap adorned with several pairs of horns, and plainly clad in a short tunic, which does not reach his knees and is drawn in at the waist by a belt. His legs and arms are bare, the wrists are encircled by

bangles or bracelets His feet are shod in high boots with turned-up toes In his right hand he holds a vine-branch laden with clusters of grapes, and in his raised left hand he grasps a bunch of bearded wheat, such as is still grown in Cappadocia, the ears of corn project above his fingers, while the long stalks hang down to his feet In front of him stands the lesser figure, some eight feet high He is clearly a priest or king, more probably perhaps both in one His rich vestments contrast with the simple costume of the god On his head he wears a round but not pointed cap, encircled by flat bands and ornamented in front with a rosette or bunch of jewels, such as is still worn by Eastern princes He is draped from the neck to the ankles in a long robe heavily fringed at the bottom, over which is thrown a shawl or mantle secured at the breast by a clasp of precious stones Both robe and shawl are elaborately carved with patterns in imitation of embroidery A heavy necklace of rings or beads encircles the neck, a bracelet or bangle clasps the one wrist that is visible, the feet are shod in boots like those of the god One or perhaps both hands are raised in the act of adoration The large aquiline nose, like the beak of a hawk, is a conspicuous feature in the face both of the god and of his worshipper, the hair and beard of both are thick and curly

The situation of this remarkable monument resembles that of Aphaca on the Lebanon, for in both places we see a noble river issuing abruptly from the rock to spread fertility through the rich vale below Nowhere, perhaps, could man more appropriately revere those great powers of nature to whose favour he ascribes the fruitfulness of the earth, and through it the life of animate creation With its cool bracing air, its mass of verdure, its magnificent stream of pure ice-cold water—so grateful in the burning heat of summer—and its wide stretch of fertile land, the valley may well have been the residence of an ancient prince or high-priest, who desired to testify by this

monument his devotion and gratitude to the god. The seat of this royal or priestly potentate may have been at Cybistra, the modern Eicgli, now a decayed and miserable place straggling amid orchards and gardens full of luxuriant groves of walnut, poplar, willow, mulberry, and oak. The place is a paradise of birds. Here the thrush and the nightingale sing full-throated, the hoopoe waves his crested top-knot, the bright-hued woodpeckers flit from bough to bough, and the swifts dart screaming by hundreds through the air. Yet a little way off, beyond the beneficent influence of the springs and streams, all is desolation—in summer an arid waste broken by great marshes and wide patches of salt, in winter a broad sheet of stagnant water, which as it dries up with the growing heat of the sun exhales a poisonous malaria. To the west, as far as the eye can see, stretches the endless expanse of the dreary Lycaonian plain, barren, treeless, and solitary, till it fades into the blue distance, or is bounded afar off by abrupt ranges of jagged volcanic mountains, on which in sunshiny weather the shadows of the clouds rest, purple and soft as velvet. No wonder that the smiling luxuriance of the one landscape, sharply contrasting with the bleak sterility of the other, should have rendered it in the eyes of primitive man a veritable garden of God.

Among the attributes which mark out the deity of Ibreez as a power of fertility the horns on his high cap should not be overlooked. They are probably the horns of a bull, for to primitive cattle-breeders the bull is the most natural emblem of generative force. At Carchemish, the great Hittite capital on the Euphrates, a relief has been discovered which represents a god or a priest clad in a rich robe, and wearing on his head a tall horned cap surmounted by a disc. Sculptures found at the palace of Euyuk in North-Western Cappadocia prove that the Hittites worshipped the bull and sacrificed rams to it. Similarly the Greeks conceived the vine-god Dionysus in the form of a bull.

§ 3 *Sandan of Tarsus*

That the god of Ibreez, with the grapes and corn in his hands, is identical with the Baal of Tarsus, who bears the same emblems, may be taken as certain. But what was his name? and who were his worshippers? The Greeks apparently called him Hercules, at least in Byzantine times the neighbouring town of Cybistra adopted the name of Heraclea, which seems to show that Hercules was deemed the principal deity of the place. Yet the style and costume of the figures at Ibreez prove unquestionably that the god was an Oriental. If any confirmation of this view were needed, it is furnished by the inscriptions carved on the rock beside the sculptures, for these inscriptions are composed in the peculiar system of hieroglyphics now known as Hittite. It follows, therefore, that the deity worshipped at Tarsus and Ibreez was a god of the Hittites, that ancient and little-known people who occupied the centre of Asia Minor, invented a system of writing, and extended their influence, if not their dominion, at one time from the Euphrates to the Aegean. From the lofty and arid tablelands of the interior, a prolongation of the great plateau of Central Asia, with a climate ranging from the most burning heat in summer to the most piercing cold in winter, these hardy highlanders seem to have swept down through the mountain-passes and established themselves at a very early date in the rich southern low lands of Syria and Cilicia. Their language and race are still under discussion, but a great preponderance of opinion appears to declare that neither the one nor the other was Semitic.

In the inscription attached to the colossal figure of the god at Ibreez two scholars have professed to read the name of Sandan or Sanda. Be that as it may, there are independent grounds for thinking that Sandan, Sandon, or Sandes may have been the name

of the Cappadocian and Cilician god of fertility For the god of Ibreez in Cappadocia appears, as we saw, to have been identified by the Greeks with Hercules, and we are told that a Cappadocian and Cilician name of Hercules was Sandan or Sandes Now this Sandan or Hercules is said to have founded Tarsus, and the people of the city commemorated him at an annual or, at all events, periodical festival by erecting a fine pyre in his honour Apparently at this festival, as at the festival of Melcarth, the god was burned in effigy on his own pyre For coins of Tarsus often exhibit the pyre as a conical structure resting on a garlanded altar or basis, with the figure of Sandan himself in the midst of it, while an eagle with spread wings perches on the top of the pyre, as if about to bear the soul of the burning god in the pillar of smoke and fire to heaven¹ In like manner when a Roman emperor died leaving a son to succeed him on the throne, a waxen effigy was made in the likeness of the deceased and burned on a huge pyramidal pyre, which was reared upon a square basis of wood, and from the summit of the blazing pile an eagle was released for the purpose of carrying to heaven the soul of the dead and deified emperor The Romans may have borrowed

¹ The structure represented on the coins is sometimes called not the pyre but the monument of Sandan or Sandanapalus Certainly the cone resting on the square base reminds us of the similar structure on the coins of Byblus as well as of the conical image of Aphrodite at Paphos (see above), but the words of Dio Chrysostom make it probable that the design on the coins of Tarsus represents the pyre At the same time, the burning of the god may well have been sculptured on a permanent monument of stone The legend *OPTYΓΟΘΗΡΑ*, literally "quail-hunt," which appears on some coins of Tarsus, may refer to a custom of catching quails and burning them on the pyre We have seen that quails were apparently burnt in sacrifice at Byblus This explanation of the legend on the coins of Tarsus was suggested by Raoul-Rochette However, Mr G F Hill writes to me that "the interpretation of *Ὀρτυγοθήρα* as anything but a personal name is rendered very unlikely by the analogy of all the other inscriptions on coins of the same class"

from the East a grandiose custom which savours of Oriental adulation rather than of Roman simplicity

The type of Sandan or Hercules, as he is portrayed on the coins of Tarsus, is that of an Asiatic deity standing on a lion. It is thus that he is represented on the pyre, and it is thus that he appears as a separate figure without the pyre. From these representations we can form a fairly accurate conception of the form and attributes of the god. They exhibit him as a bearded man standing on a horned and often winged lion. Upon his head he wears a high pointed cap or mitre, and he is clad sometimes in a long robe, sometimes in a short tunic. On at least one coin his feet are shod in high boots with flaps. At his side or over his shoulder are slung a sword, a bow-case, and a quiver, sometimes only one or two of them. His right hand is raised and sometimes holds a flower. His left hand grasps a double-headed axe, and sometimes a wreath either in addition to the axe or instead of it, but the double-headed axe is one of Sandan's most constant attributes.

§ 4 *The Gods of Boghaz-Keui*

Now a deity of almost precisely the same type figures prominently in the celebrated group of Hittite sculptures which is carved on the rocks at Boghaz-Keui in North-Western Cappadocia. The village of Boghaz-Keui, that is, "the village of the defile," stands at the mouth of a deep, narrow, and picturesque gorge in a wild upland valley, shut in by rugged mountains of grey limestone. The houses are built on the lower slopes of the hills, and a stream issuing from the gorge flows past them to join the Halys, which is distant about ten hours' journey to the west. Immediately above the modern village a great ancient city, enclosed by massive fortification walls, rose on the rough broken ground of the mountainside, culminating in two citadels perched on the tops of precipitous crags. The walls are still standing in many places to a height

of twelve feet or more. They are about fourteen feet thick and consist of an outer and inner facing built of large blocks with a core of rubble between them. On the outer side they are strengthened at intervals of about a hundred feet by projecting towers or buttresses, which seem designed rather as architectural supports than as military defences. The masonry, composed of large stones laid in roughly parallel courses, resembles in style that of the walls of Mycenae, with which it may be contemporary, and the celebrated Lion-gate at Mycenae has its counterpart in the southern gate of Boghaz-Keui, which is flanked by a pair of colossal stone lions executed in the best style of Hittite art. The eastern gate is adorned on its inner side with the figure of a Hittite warrior or Amazon carved in high relief. A dense undergrowth of stunted oak coppice now covers much of the site. The ruins of a large palace or temple, built of enormous blocks of stone, occupy a terrace in a commanding situation within the circuit of the walls. This vast city, some four or five miles in circumference, appears to have been the ancient Pteria, which Croesus, king of Lydia, captured in his war with Cyrus. It was probably the capital of a powerful Hittite empire before the Phrygians made their way from Europe into the interior of Asia Minor and established a rival state to the west of the Halys.

From the village of Boghaz-Keui a steep and rugged path leads uphill to a sanctuary, distant about a mile and a half to the east. Here among the grey limestone cliffs there is a spacious natural chamber or hall of roughly oblong shape, roofed only by the sky, and enclosed on three sides by high rocks. One of the short sides is open, and through it you look out on the broken slopes beyond and the more distant mountains, which make a graceful picture set in a massy frame. The length of the chamber is about a hundred feet, its breadth varies from twenty-five to fifty feet. A nearly level sward forms the floor. On the right-hand side, as you face inward, a narrow opening in

the rock leads into another but much smaller chamber, or rather corridor, which would seem to have been the inner sanctuary or Holy of Holies. It is a romantic spot, where the deep shadows of the rocks are relieved by the bright foliage of walnut-trees and by the sight of the sky and clouds overhead. On the rock-walls of both chambers are carved the famous bas-reliefs. In the outer sanctuary these reliefs represent two great processions which defile along the two long sides of the chamber and meet face to face on the short wall at the inner end. The figures on the left-hand wall are for the most part men clad in the characteristic Hittite costume, which consists of a high pointed cap, shoes with turned-up toes, and a tunic drawn in at the waist and falling short of the knees. The figures on the right-hand wall are women wearing tall, square, flat-topped bonnets with ribbed sides, their long dresses fall in perpendicular folds to their feet, which are shod in shoes like those of the men. On the short wall, where the processions meet, the greater size of the central figures, as well as their postures and attributes, mark them out as divine. At the head of the male procession marches or is carried a bearded deity clad in the ordinary Hittite costume of tall pointed cap, short tunic, and turned-up shoes, but his feet rest on the bowed heads of two men, in his right hand he holds on his shoulder a mace or truncheon topped with a knob, while his extended left hand grasps a symbol, which apparently consists of a trident surmounted by an oval with a cross-bar. Behind him follows a similar, though somewhat smaller, figure of a man, or perhaps rather of a god, carrying a mace or truncheon over his shoulder in his right hand, while with his left he holds aloft a long sword with a flat hilt, his feet rest not on two men but on two flat-topped pinnacles, which perhaps represent mountains. At the head of the female procession and facing the great god who is borne on the two men, stands a goddess on a lioness or panther. Her costume does not differ from that of

the women her hair hangs down in a long plait behind in her extended right hand she holds out an emblem to touch that of the god The shape and meaning of her emblem are obscure It consists of a stem with two pairs of protuberances, perhaps leaves or branches, one above the other, the whole being surmounted, like the emblem of the god, by an oval with a cross-bar Under the outstretched arms of the two deities appear the front parts of two animals, which have been usually interpreted as bulls but are rather goats, each of them wears on its head the high conical Hittite cap, and its body is concealed by that of the deity Immediately behind the goddess marches a smaller and apparently youthful male figure, standing like her upon a lioness or panther He is beardless and wears the Hittite dress of high pointed cap, short tunic, and shoes with turned-up toes A crescent-hilted sword is girt at his side, in his left hand he holds a double-headed axe, and in his right a staff topped by an armless doll with the symbol of the cross-barred oval instead of a head Behind him follow two women, or rather perhaps goddesses, resembling the goddess at the head of the procession, but with different emblems and standing not on a lioness but on a single two-headed eagle with outspread wings

The entrance to the smaller chamber is guarded on either side by the figure of a winged monster carved on the rock, the bodies of both figures are human, but one of them has the head of a dog, the other the head of a lion In the inner sanctuary, to which this monster-guarded passage leads, the walls are also carved in relief On one side we see a procession of twelve men in Hittite costume marching with curved swords in their right hands On the opposite wall is a colossal erect figure of a deity with a human head and a body curiously composed of four lions, two above and two below, the latter standing on their heads The god wears the high conical Hittite hat his face is youthful and beardless like that of the male figure

standing on the lioness in the large chamber, and the ear turned to the spectator is pierced with a ring. From the knees downwards the legs, curiously enough, are replaced by a device which has been interpreted as the tapering point of a great dagger or dirk with a midrib. To the right of this deity a square panel cut in the face of the rock exhibits a group of two figures in relief. The larger of the two figures closely resembles the youth on the lioness in the outer sanctuary. His chin is beardless, he wears the same high pointed cap, the same short tunic, the same turned-up shoes, the same crescent-hilted sword, and he carries a similar armless doll in his right hand. But his left arm encircles the neck of the smaller figure, whom he seems to clasp to his side in an attitude of protection. The smaller figure thus embraced by the god is clearly a priest or priestly king. His face is beardless, he wears a skull-cap and a long mantle reaching to his feet with a sort of chasuble thrown over it. The crescent-shaped hilt of a sword projects from under his mantle. The wrist of his right arm is clasped by the god's left hand, in his left hand the priest holds a crook or pastoral staff which ends below in a curl. Both the priest and his protector are facing towards the lion-god. In an upper corner of the panel behind them is a divine emblem composed of a winged disc resting on what look like two Ionic columns, while between them appear three symbols of doubtful significance. The figure of the priest or king in this costume, though not in this attitude, is a familiar one, for it occurs twice in the outer sanctuary and is repeated twice at the great Hittite palace of Euyuk, distant about four and a half hours' ride to the north-east of Boghaz-Keui. In the outer sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui we see the priest marching in the procession of the men, and holding in one hand his curled staff, or *lituus*, and in the other a symbol like that of the goddess on the lioness above his head appears the winged disc without the other attributes. Moreover he occupies a conspicuous

place by himself on the right-hand wall of the outer sanctuary, quite apart from the two processions, and carved on a larger scale than any of the other figures in them. Here he stands on two heaps, perhaps intended to represent mountains, and he carries in his right hand the emblem of the winged disc supported on two Ionic columns with the other symbols between them, except that the central symbol is replaced by a masculine figure wearing a pointed cap and a long robe decorated with a dog-tooth pattern. On one of the reliefs at the palace of Euyuk we see the priest with his characteristic dress and staff followed by a priestess, each of them with a hand raised as if in adoration. They are approaching the image of a bull which stands on a high pedestal with an altar before it. Behind them a priest leads a flock of rams to the sacrifice. On another relief at Euyuk the priest, similarly attired and followed by a priestess, is approaching a seated goddess and apparently pouring a libation at her feet. Both these scenes doubtless represent acts of worship paid in the one case to a goddess, in the other to a bull.

We have still to inquire into the meaning of the rock-carvings at Boghaz-Keui. What are these processions which are meeting? Who are the personages represented? and what are they doing? Some have thought that the scene is historical and commemorates a great event, such as a treaty of peace between two peoples or the marriage of a king's son to a king's daughter. But to this view it has been rightly objected that the attributes of the principal figures prove them to be divine or priestly, and that the scene is therefore religious or mythical rather than historical. With regard to the two personages who head the processions and hold out their symbols to each other, the most probable opinion appears to be that they stand for the great Asiatic goddess of fertility and her consort, by whatever names these deities were known, for under diverse names a similar divine

couple appears to have been worshipped with similar rites all over Western Asia. The bearded god who, grasping a trident in his extended left hand, heads the procession of male figures is probably the Father deity, the great Hittite god of the thundering sky, whose emblems were the thunderbolt and the bull, for the trident which he carries may reasonably be interpreted as a thunderbolt. The deity is represented in similar form on two stone monuments of Hittite art which were found at Zenjirli in Northern Syria and at Babylon respectively. On both we see a bearded male god wearing the usual Hittite costume of tall cap, short tunic, and shoes turned up at the toes. A crescent-hilted sword is girt at his side. His hands are raised. In the right he holds a single-headed axe or hammer, in the left a trident of wavy lines, which is thought to stand for forked lightning or a bundle of thunderbolts. On the Babylonian slab, which bears a long Hittite inscription, the god's cap is ornamented with a pair of horns. The horns on the cap are probably those of a bull, for on another Hittite monument, found at Malatia on the Euphrates, there is carved a deity in the usual Hittite costume standing on a bull and grasping a trident or thunderbolt in his left hand, while facing him stands a priest clad in a long robe, holding a crook or curled staff in one hand and pouring a libation with the other. The Hittite thunder-god is also known to us from a treaty of alliance which about the year 1290 B.C. was contracted between Hattusil, King of the Hittites, and Rameses II, King of Egypt. By a singular piece of good fortune we possess copies of this treaty both in the Hittite and in the Egyptian language. The Hittite copy was found some years ago inscribed in cuneiform characters on a clay tablet at Boghaz-Keri, two copies of the treaty in the Egyptian language are engraved on the walls of temples at Thebes. From the Egyptian copies, which have been read and translated, we gather that the thunder-god was the principal deity of the Hittites,

and that the two Hittite seals which were appended to the treaty exhibited the King embraced by the thunder-god and the Queen embraced by the sun-goddess of Arinna. This Hittite divinity of the thundering sky appears to have long survived at Doliche in Commagene, for in later Roman art he reappears under the title of Jupiter Dolichenus wearing a Phrygian cap, standing on a bull, and wielding a double axe in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. In this form his worship was transported from his native Syrian home by soldiers and slaves, till it had spread over a large part of the Roman empire, especially on the frontiers, where it flourished in the camps of the legions. The combination of the bull with the thunderbolt as emblems of the deity suggests that the animal may have been chosen to represent the sky-god for the sake not merely of its virility but of its voice, for in the peal of thunder primitive man may well have heard the bellowing of a celestial bull.

The goddess who at the head of the procession of women confronts the great sky-god in the sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui is generally recognized as the divine Mother, the great Asiatic goddess of life and fertility. The tall flat-topped hat with perpendicular grooves which she wears, and the lioness or panther on which she stands, remind us of the turreted crown and lion-drawn car of Cybele, who was worshipped in the neighbouring land of Phrygia across the Halys. So Atargatis, the great Syrian goddess of Hierapolis-Bambyce, was portrayed sitting on lions and wearing a tower on her head. At Babylon an image of a goddess whom the Greeks called Rhea had the figures of two lions standing on her knees.

But in the rock-hewn sculptures of Boghaz-Keui, who is the youth with the tall pointed cap and double axe who stands on a lioness or panther immediately behind the great goddess? His figure is all the more remarkable because he is the only male who interrupts

the long procession of women. Probably he is at once the divine son and the divine lover of the goddess, for in Phrygian mythology Attis united in himself both these characters. The lioness or panther on which he stands marks his affinity with the goddess, who is supported by a similar animal. It is natural that the lion-goddess should have a lion-son and a lion-lover. For we may take it as probable that the Oriental deities who are represented standing or sitting in human form on the backs of lions and other animals were originally indistinguishable from the beasts, and that the complete separation of the bestial from the human or divine shape was a consequence of that growth of knowledge and of power which led man in time to respect himself more and the brutes less. The hybrid gods of Egypt with their human bodies and animal heads form an intermediate stage in this evolution of anthropomorphic deities out of beasts.

We may now perhaps hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of that strange colossal figure in the inner shrine at Boghaz-Keui with its human head and its body composed of lions. For it is to be observed that the head of the figure is youthful and beardless, and that it wears a tall pointed cap, thus resembling in both respects the youth with the double-headed axe who stands on a lion in the outer sanctuary. We may suppose that the leonine figure in the inner shrine sets forth the true mystic, that is, the old savage nature of the god who in the outer shrine presented himself to his worshippers in the decent semblance of a man. To the chosen few who were allowed to pass the monster-guarded portal into the Holy of Holies, the awful secret may have been revealed that their god was a lion, or rather a lion-man, a being in whom the bestial and human natures mysteriously co-existed. The reader may remember that on the rock beside this leonine divinity is carved a group which represents a god with his arm twined round the neck of his priest in an attitude of protection, holding one of the priest's

hands in his own. Both figures are looking and stepping towards the lion-master, and the god is holding out his right hand as if pointing to it. The scene may represent the deity revealing the mystery to the priest, or preparing him to act his part in some solemn rite for which all his strength and courage will be needed. He seems to be leading his minister onward, comforting him with an assurance that no harm can come near him while the divine arm is around him and the divine hand clasps his. Whither is he leading him? Perhaps to death. The deep shadows of the rocks which fall on the two figures in the gloomy chasm may be an emblem of darker shadows soon to fall on the priest. Yet still he grasps his pastoral staff and goes forward, as though he said, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

If there is any truth in these guesses—for they are little more—the three principal figures in the processional scene at Boghaz-Keui represent the divine Father, the divine Mother, and the divine Son. But we have still to ask, What are they doing? That they are engaged in the performance of some religious rite seems certain. But what is it? We may conjecture that it is the rite of the Sacred Marriage, and that the scene is copied from a ceremony which was periodically performed in this very place by human representatives of the deities. Indeed, the solemn meeting of the male and female figures at the head of their respective processions obviously suggests a marriage, and has been so interpreted by scholars, who, however, regarded it as the historical wedding of a prince and princess instead of the mystic union of a god and goddess, overlooking or explaining away the symbols of divinity which accompany the principal personages. We may suppose that at Boghaz-Keui, as at many other places in the interior of Asia Minor, the government was in the hands of a family who combined

royal with priestly functions and personated the gods whose names they bore. Thus at Pessinus in Phrygia the priests of Cybele bore the name of her consort Attis, and doubtless represented him in the ritual. If this was so at Boghaz-Keui, we may surmise that the chief pontiff and his family annually celebrated the marriage of the divine powers of fertility, the Father God and the Mother Goddess, for the purpose of ensuring the fruitfulness of the earth and the multiplication of men and beasts. The principal parts in the ceremony would naturally be played by the pontiff himself and his wife, unless indeed they preferred for good reasons to delegate the onerous duty to others. That such a delegation took place is perhaps suggested by the appearance of the pontiff himself in a subordinate place in the procession, as well as by his separate representation in another place, as if he were in the act of surveying the ceremony from a distance. The part of the divine Son at the rite would fitly devolve upon one of the high-priest's own offspring, who may well have been numerous. For it is probable that here, as elsewhere in Asia Minor, the Mother Goddess was personated by a crowd of sacred harlots, with whom the spiritual ruler may have been required to consort in his character of incarnate deity. But if the personation of the Son of God at the rites laid a heavy burden of suffering on the shoulders of the actor, it is possible that the representative of the deity may have been drawn, perhaps by lot, from among the numerous progeny of the consecrated courtesans, for these women, as incarnations of the Mother Goddess, were probably supposed to transmit to their offspring some portion of their own divinity. Be that as it may, if the three principal personages in the processional scene at Boghaz-Keui are indeed the Father, the Mother, and the Son, the remarkable position assigned to the third of them in the procession, where he walks behind

his Mother alone in the procession of women, appears to indicate that he was supposed to be more closely akin to her than to his Father. From this again we may conjecturally infer that mother-kin rather than father-kin was the rule which regulated descent among the Hittites. The conjecture derives some support from Hittite archives, for the names of the Great Queen and the Queen Mother are mentioned along with that of the King in state documents. The other personages who figure in the procession may represent human beings masquerading in the costumes and with the attributes of deities. Such, for example, are the two female figures who stand on a double-headed eagle, the two male figures stepping on what seem to be two mountains, and the two winged beings in the procession of men, one of whom may be the Moon-god, for he wears a crescent on his head.

§ 5 *Sandan and Baal at Tarsus*

Whatever may be thought of these speculations, one thing seems fairly clear and certain. The figure which I have called the divine Son at Boghaz-Keui is identical with the god Sandan, who appears on the pyre at Tarsus. In both personages the costume, the attributes, the attitude are the same. Both represent a man clad in a short tunic with a tall pointed cap on his head, a sword at his side, a double-headed axe in his hand, and a lion or panther under his feet. Accordingly, if we are right in identifying him as the divine Son at Boghaz-Keui, we may conjecture that under the name of Sandan he bore the same character at Tarsus. The conjecture squares perfectly with the title of Hercules, which the Greeks bestowed on Sandan, for Hercules was the son of Zeus, the great father-god. Moreover, we have seen that the Baal of Tarsus, with the grapes and the corn in his hand, was assimilated to Zeus. Thus it would appear that at Tarsus as at Boghaz-Keui

there was a pair of deities, a divine Father and a divine Son, whom the Greeks identified with Zeus and Hercules respectively. If the Baal of Tarsus was a god of fertility, as his attributes clearly imply, his identification with Zeus would be natural, since it was Zeus who, in the belief of the Greeks, sent the fertilizing rain from heaven. And the identification of Sandan with Hercules would be equally natural, since the lion and the death on the pyre were features common to both. Our conclusion then is that it was the divine Son, the lion-god, who was burned in effigy or in the person of a human representative at Tarsus, and perhaps at Boghaz-Keui. Semitic parallels suggest that the victim who played the part of the Son of God in the fiery furnace ought in strictness to be the king's son. But no doubt in later times an effigy would be substituted for the man.

§ 6 *Priestly Kings of Olba*

Unfortunately we know next to nothing of the kings and priests of Tarsus. In Greek times we hear of an Epicurean philosopher of the city, Lysias by name, who was elected by his fellow-citizens to the office of Crown-wearer, that is, to the priesthood of Hercules. Once raised to that dignity, he would not lay it down again, but played the part of tyrant, wearing a white robe edged with purple, a costly cloak, white shoes, and a golden wreath of laurel. He truckled to the mob by distributing among them the property of the wealthy, while he put to death such as refused to open their money-bags to him. Though we cannot distinguish in this account between the legal and the illegal exercise of authority, yet we may safely infer that the priesthood of Hercules, that is of Sandan, at Tarsus continued down to late times to be an office of great dignity and power, not unworthy to be held in earlier times by the kings themselves. Scanty as is our

information as to the kings of Cilicia, we hear of two whose names appear to indicate that they stood in some special relation to the divine Sandan. One of them was Sandu'arri, lord of Kundi and Sizu, which have been identified with Anchiale and Sis in Cilicia. The other was Sanda-sarme, who gave his daughter in marriage to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria. It would be in accordance with analogy if the kings of Tarsus formerly held the priesthood of Sandan and claimed to represent him in their own person.

We know that the whole of Western or Mountainous Cilicia was ruled by kings who combined the regal office with the priesthood of Zeus, or rather of a native deity whom, like the Baal of Tarsus, the Greeks assimilated to their own Zeus. These priestly potentates had their seat at Olba, and most of them bore the name either of Teucer or of Ajax, but we may suspect that these appellations are merely Greek distortions of native Cilician names. Teucer (*Teukros*) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarku, or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events, it is worthy of notice that one, if not two, of these priestly Teucers had a father called Tarkuaris, and that in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, not many miles from Olba, the names Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbasis, and Trokombigremis, besides many other obviously native names, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations. In like manner the Teucrids, who traced their descent from Zeus and reigned at Salamis in Cyprus, may well have been a native dynasty, who concocted a Greek pedigree for themselves in the days when Greek civilization was fashionable. The legend which attributed the foundation of the Cyprian Salamis to Teucer, son of Telamon, appears to be late and unknown to Homer. Moreover, a cruel form of human sacrifice which was practised

in the city down to historical times savours rather of Oriental barbarity than of Greek humanity. Led or driven by the youths, a man ran thrice round the altar, then the priest stabbed him in the throat with a spear and burned his body whole on a heaped-up pyre. The sacrifice was offered in the month of Aphrodite to Diomede, who along with Agraulus, daughter of Cecrops, had a temple at Salamis. A temple of Athena stood within the same sacred enclosure. It is said that in olden times the sacrifice was offered to Agraulus, and not to Diomede. According to another account it was instituted by Teucer in honour of Zeus. However that may have been, the barbarous custom lasted down to the reign of Hadrian, when Diphilus, king of Cyprus, abolished or rather mitigated it by substituting the sacrifice of an ox for that of a man. On the hypothesis here suggested we must suppose that these Greek names of divine or heroic figures at the Cyprian Salamis covered more or less similar figures of the Asiatic pantheon. And in the Salaminian burnt-sacrifice of a man we may perhaps detect the original form of the ceremony which in historical times appears to have been performed upon an image of Sandan or Hercules at Tarsus. When an ox was sacrificed instead of a man, the old sacrificial rites would naturally continue to be observed in all other respects exactly as before: the animal would be led thrice round the altar, stabbed with a spear, and burned on a pyre. Now at the Syrian Hierapolis the greatest festival of the year bore the name of the Pyre or the Torch. It was held at the beginning of spring. Great trees were then cut down and planted in the court of the temple: sheep, goats, birds, and other creatures were hung upon them: sacrificial victims were led round: then fire was set to the whole, and everything was consumed in the flames. Perhaps here also the burning of animals was a substitute for the burning of men. When the practice of

human sacrifice becomes too revolting to humanity to be tolerated, its abolition is commonly effected by substituting either animals or images for living men or women. At Salamis certainly, and perhaps at Hierapolis, the substitutes were animals at Tarsus, if I am right, they were images. In this connexion the statement of a Greek writer as to the worship of Adonis in Cyprus deserves attention. He says that as Adonis had been honoured by Aphrodite, the Cyprians after his death cast live doves on a pyre to him, and that the birds, flying away from the flames, fell into another pyre and were consumed. The statement seems to be a description of an actual custom of burning doves in sacrifice to Adonis. Such a mode of honouring him would be very remarkable, since doves were commonly sacred to his divine mistress Aphrodite or Astarte. For example, at the Syrian Hierapolis, one of the chief seats of her worship, these birds were so holy that they might not even be touched. If a man inadvertently touched a dove, he was unclean or tabooed for the rest of the day. Hence the birds, never being molested, were so tame that they lived with the people in their houses, and commonly picked up their food fearlessly on the ground. Can the burning of the sacred bird of Aphrodite in the Cyprian worship of Adonis have been a substitute for the burning of a sacred man who personated the lover of the goddess?

If, as many scholars think, Tark or Tarku was the name, or part of the name, of a great Hittite deity, sometimes identified as the god of the sky and the lightning, we may conjecture that Tark or Tarku was the native name of the god of Olba, whom the Greeks called Zeus, and that the priestly kings who bore the name of Teucer represented the god Tark or Tarku in their own persons. This conjecture is confirmed by the observation that Olba, the ancient name of the city, is itself merely a Grecized form

of Oura, the name which the place retains to this day. The situation of the town, moreover, speaks strongly in favour of the view that it was from the beginning an aboriginal settlement, though in after days, like so many other Asiatic cities, it took on a varnish of Greek culture. For it stood remote from the sea on a lofty and barren tableland, with a rigorous winter climate, in the highlands of Cilicia.

Great indeed is the contrast between the bleak windy uplands of Western or Rugged Cilicia, as the ancients called it, and the soft luxuriant lowlands of Eastern Cilicia, where winter is almost unknown and summer annually drives the population to seek in the cool air of the mountains a refuge from the intolerable heat and deadly fevers of the plains. In Western Cilicia, on the other hand, a lofty tableland, ending in a high sharp edge on the coast, rises steadily inland till it passes gradually into the chain of heights which divide it from the interior. Looked at from the sea it resembles a great blue wave swelling in one uniform sweep till its crest breaks into foam in the distant snows of the Taurus. The surface of the tableland is almost everywhere rocky and overgrown, in the intervals of the rocks, with dense, thorny, almost impenetrable scrub. Only here and there in a hollow or glen the niggardly soil allows of a patch of cultivation, and here and there fine oaks and planes, towering over the brushwood, clothe with a richer foliage the depth of the valleys. None but wandering herdsmen with their flocks now maintain a precarious existence in this rocky wilderness. Yet the ruined towns which stud the country prove that a dense population lived and thrived here in antiquity, while numerous remains of wine-presses and wine-vats bear witness to the successful cultivation of the grape. The chief cause of the present desolation is lack of water, for wells are few and brackish, perennial streams hardly exist, and the ancient aqueducts, which once brought life and

fertility to the land, have long been suffered to fall into disrepair

But for ages together the ancient inhabitants of these uplands earned their bread by less reputable means than the toil of the husbandman and the vinedresser. They were buccaneers and slavers, scouring the high seas with their galleys and retiring with their booty to the inaccessible fastnesses of their mountains. In the decline of Greek power all over the East the pirate communities of Cilicia grew into a formidable state, recruited by gangs of desperadoes and broken men who flocked to it from all sides. The holds of these robbers may still be seen perched on the brink of the profound ravines which cleave the tableland at frequent intervals. With their walls of massive masonry, their towers and battlements, overhanging dizzy depths, they are admirably adapted to bid defiance to the pursuit of justice. In antiquity the dark forests of cedar, which clothed much of the country and supplied the pirates with timber for their ships, must have rendered access to these fastnesses still more difficult. The great gorge of the Lamas River, which eats its way like a sheet of forked lightning into the heart of the mountains, is dotted every few miles with fortified towns, some of them still magnificent in their ruins, dominating sheer cliffs high above the stream. They are now the haunt only of the ibex and the bear. Each of these communities had its own crest or badge, which may still be seen carved on the corners of the mouldering towers. No doubt, too, it blazoned the same crest on the hull, the sails, or the streamers of the galley which, manned with a crew of ruffians, it sent out to prey upon the rich merchantmen in the Golden Sea, as the corsairs called the highway of commerce between Crete and Africa.

A staircase cut in the rock connects one of these ruined castles with the river in the glen, a thousand

feet below But the steps are worn and dangerous, indeed impassable You may go for miles along the edge of these stupendous cliffs before you find a way down The paths keep on the heights, for in many of its reaches the gully affords no foothold even to the agile nomads who alone roam these solitudes At evening the winding course of the river may be traced for a long distance by a mist which, as the heat of the day declines, rises like steam from the deep gorge and hangs suspended in a wavy line of fleecy cloud above it But even more imposing than the ravine of the Lamas is the terrific gorge known as the *Sher-tan dere* or Devil's Glen near the Corycian cave Prodigious walls of rock, glowing in the intense sunlight, black in the shadow, and spanned by a summer sky of the deepest blue, hem in the dry bed of a winter torrent, choked with rocks and tangled with thickets of evergreens, among which the oleanders with their slim stalks, delicate taper leaves, and bunches of crimson blossom stand out conspicuous

The ruins of Olba, among the most extensive and remarkable in Asia Minor, were discovered in 1890 by Mr J Theodore Bent But three years before another English traveller had caught a distant view of its battlements and towers outlined against the sky like a city of enchantment or dreams Standing at a height of nearly six thousand feet above the sea, the upper town commands a free, though somewhat uniform, prospect for immense distances in all directions The sea is just visible far away to the south On these heights the winter is long and severe Snow lies on the ground for months No Greek would have chosen such a site for a city, so bleak and chill, so far from blue water, but it served well for a fastness of brigands Deep gorges, one of them filled for miles with tombs, surround it on all sides, rendering fortification walls superfluous But a great square tower, four stories high, rises conspicuous on

the hill, forming a landmark and earning for this upper town the native name of *Jebel Hissa*, or the Mountain of the Castle. A Greek inscription cut on the tower proves that it was built by Teucer, son of Taikuaris, one of the priestly potentates of Olba. Among other remains of public buildings the most notable are forty tall Corinthian columns of the great temple of Olbian Zeus. Though coarse in style and corroded by long exposure to frost and snow, these massive pillars, towering above the ruins, produce an imposing effect. That the temple of which they formed part belonged indeed to Olbian Zeus is shown by a Greek inscription found within the sacred area, which records that the pent-houses on the inner side of the boundary wall were built by King Seleucus Nicator and repaired for Olbian Zeus by "the great high-priest Teucer, son of Zenophanes." About two hundred yards from this great temple are standing five elegant granite columns of a small temple dedicated to the goddess Fortune. Further, the remains of two theatres and many other public buildings attest the former splendour of this mountain city. An arched colonnade, of which some Corinthian columns are standing with their architraves, ran through the town, and an ancient paved road, lined with tombs and ruins, leads downhill to a lower and smaller city two or three miles distant. It is this lower town which retains the ancient name of *Oura*. Here the principal ruins occupy an isolated fir-clad height bounded by two narrow ravines full of rock-cut tombs. Below the town the ravines unite and form a fine gorge, down which the old road passed seaward.

§ 7 *The God of the Corycian Cave*

Nothing yet found at Olba throws light on the nature of the god who was worshipped there under the Greek name of Zeus. But at two places near the coast, distant only some fourteen or fifteen miles

from Olba, a deity also called Zeus by the Greeks was revered in natural surroundings of a remarkable kind, which must have stood in close relation with the worship, and are therefore fitted to illustrate it. In both places the features of the landscape are of the same general cast, and at one of them the god was definitely identified with the Zeus of Olba. The country here consists of a tableland of calcareous rock rent at intervals by those great chasms which are characteristic of a limestone formation. Similar fissures, with the accompaniment of streams or rivers which pour into them and vanish under ground, are frequent in Greece, and may be observed in our own country near Ingleborough in Yorkshire. Fossil bones of extinct animals are often found embedded in the stalagmite or breccia of limestone caves. For example, the famous Kent's Hole near Torquay contained bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, lion, hyaena, and bear, and red osseous breccias, charged with the bones of quadrupeds which have long disappeared from Europe, are common in almost all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Western Cilicia is richer in Miocene deposits than any other part of Anatolia, and the limestone gorges of the coast near Olba are crowded with fossil oysters, corals, and other shells. Here, too, within the space of five miles the limestone plateau is rent by three great chasms, which Greek religion associated with Zeus and Typhon. One of these fissures is the celebrated Corycian cave.

To visit this spot, invested with the double charm of natural beauty and legendary renown, you start from the dead Cilician city of Corycus on the sea, with its ruined walls, towers, and churches, its rock-hewn houses and cisterns, its shattered mole, its island-fortress, still imposing in decay. Viewed from the sea, this part of the Cilician coast, with its long succession of white ruins, relieved by the dark wooded hills behind, presents an appearance of populousness

and splendour But a nearer approach reveals the nakedness and desolation of the once prosperous land Following the shore westward from Corycus for about an hour you come to a pretty cove enclosed by wooded heights, where a spring of pure cold water bubbles up close to the sea, giving to the spot its name of *Tatlu-su*, or the Sweet Water From this bay a steep ascent of about a mile along an ancient paved road leads inland to a plateau Here, threading your way through a labyrinth or petrified sea of jagged calcareous rocks, you suddenly find yourself on the brink of a vast chasm which yawns at your feet This is the Corycian cave In reality it is not a cave but an immense hollow or trough in the plateau, of oval shape and perhaps half a mile in circumference The cliffs which enclose it vary from one hundred to over two hundred feet in depth Its uneven bottom slopes throughout its whole length from north to south, and is covered by a thick jungle of trees and shrubs—myrtles, pomegranates, carobs, and many more, kept always fresh and green by rivulets, underground water, and the shadow of the great cliffs A single narrow path leads down into its depths The way is long and rough, but the deeper you descend the denser grows the vegetation, and it is under the dappled shade of whispering leaves and with the purling of brooks in your ears that you at last reach the bottom The saffron which of old grew here among the bushes is no longer to be found, though it still flourishes in the surrounding district This luxuriant bottom, with its rich verdure, its refreshing moisture, its grateful shade, is called Paradise by the wandering herdsmen They tether their camels and pasture their goats in it and come hither in the late summer to gather the ripe pomegranates At the southern and deepest end of this great cliff-encircled hollow you come to the cavern proper The ruins of a Byzantine church, which replaced a heathen temple, partly block the entrance

Inwards the cave descends with a gentle slope into the bowels of the earth. The old path paved with polygonal masonry still runs through it, but soon disappears under sand. At about two hundred feet from its mouth the cave comes to an end, and a tremendous roar of subterranean water is heard. By crawling on all fours you may reach a small pool arched by a dripping stalactite-hung roof, but the stream which makes the deafening din is invisible. It was otherwise in antiquity. A river of clear water burst from the rock, but only to vanish again into a chasm. Such changes in the course of streams are common in countries subject to earthquakes and to the disruption caused by volcanic agency. The ancients believed that this mysterious cavern was haunted ground. In the rumble and roar of the waters they seemed to hear the clash of cymbals touched by hands divine.

If now, quitting the cavern, we return by the same path to the summit of the cliffs, we shall find on the plateau the ruins of a town and of a temple at the western edge of the great Corycian chasm. The wall of the holy precinct was built within a few feet of the precipices, and the sanctuary must have stood right over the actual cave and its subterranean waters. In later times the temple was converted into a Christian church. By pulling down a portion of the sacred edifice Mr Bent had the good fortune to discover a Greek inscription containing a long list of names, probably those of the priests who superintended the worship. One name which meets us frequently in the list is *Zas*, and it is tempting to regard this as merely a dialectical form of *Zeus*. If that were so, the priests who bore the name might be supposed to personate the god. But many strange and barbarous-looking names, evidently foreign, occur in the list, and *Zas* may be one of them. However, it is certain that *Zeus* was worshipped at the Corycian cave, for about half a mile from it, on the summit of a hill,

are the ruins of a larger temple, which an inscription proves to have been dedicated to Corycian Zeus.

But Zeus, or whatever native deity masqueraded under his name, did not reign alone in the deep dell. A more dreadful being haunted a still more awful abyss which opens in the ground only a hundred yards to the east of the great Corycian chasm. It is a circular cauldron, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, resembling the Corycian chasm in its general character, but smaller, deeper, and far more terrific in appearance. Its sides overhang and stalactites droop from them. There is no way down into it. The only mode of reaching the bottom, which is covered with vegetation, would be to be lowered at the end of a long rope. The nomads call this chasm Purgatory, to distinguish it from the other which they name Paradise. They say that there is a subterranean passage between the two, and that the smoke of a fire kindled in the Corycian cave may be seen curling out of the other. The one ancient writer who expressly mentions this second and more grisly cavern is Mela, who says that it was the lair of the giant Typhon, and that no animal let down into it could live. Aeschylus puts into the mouth of Prometheus an account of "the earth-born Typhon, dweller in Cilician caves, dread monster, hundred-headed," who in his pride rose up against the gods, hissing destruction from his dreadful jaws, while from his Gorgon eyes the lightning flashed. But him a flaming levin bolt, crashing from heaven, smote to the very heart, and now he lies, shrivelled and scorched, under the weight of Etna by the narrow sea. Yet one day he will belch a fiery hail, a boiling angry flood, rivers of flame, to devastate the fat Sicilian fields. This poetical description of the monster, confirmed by a similar passage of Pindar, clearly proves that Typhon was conceived as a personification of those active volcanoes which spout fire and smoke to heaven as if they would assail the

celestial gods The Corycian caverns are not volcanic, but the ancients apparently regarded them as such, else they would hardly have made them the den of Typhon

According to one legend Typhon was a monster, half man and half brute, begotten in Cilicia by Tartarus upon the goddess Earth The upper part of him was human, but from the loins downward he was an enormous snake In the battle of the gods and giants, which was fought out in Egypt, Typhon hugged Zeus in his snaky coils, wrested from him his crooked sword, and with the blade cut the sinews of the god's hands and feet Then taking him on his back he conveyed the mutilated deity across the sea to Cilicia, and deposited him in the Corycian cave Here, too, he hid the severed sinews, wrapt in a bear's skin But Hermes and Aegipan contrived to steal the missing thews and restore them to their divine owner Thus made whole and strong again, Zeus pelted his beaten adversary with thunderbolts, drove him from place to place, and at last overwhelmed him under Mount Etna And the spots where the hissing bolts fell are still marked by jets of flame

It is possible that the discovery of fossil bones of large extinct animals may have helped to localize the story of the giant at the Corycian cave Such bones, as we have seen, are often found in limestone caverns, and the limestone gorges of Cilicia are in fact rich in fossils The Arcadians laid the scene of the battle of the gods and the giants in the plain of Megalopolis, where many bones of mammoths have come to light, and where, moreover, flames have been seen to burst from the earth and even to burn for years These natural conditions would easily suggest a fable of giants who had fought the gods and had been slain by thunderbolts, the smouldering earth or jets of flame would be regarded as the spots where the divine lightnings had struck the ground Hence

the Arcadians sacrificed to thunder and lightning. In Sicily, too, great quantities of bones of mammoths, elephants, hippopotamuses, and other animals long extinct in the island have been found, and have been appealed to with confidence by patriotic Sicilians as conclusive evidence of the gigantic stature of their ancestors or predecessors. These remains of huge unwieldy creatures which once trampled through the jungle or splashed in the rivers of Sicily may have contributed with the fires of Etna to build up the story of giants imprisoned under the volcano and vomiting smoke and flame from its crater. "Tales of giants and monsters, which stand in direct connexion with the finding of great fossil bones, are scattered broadcast over the mythology of the world. Huge bones, found at Punto Santa Elena, in the north of Guayaquil, have served as a foundation for the story of a colony of giants who dwelt there. The whole area of the Pampas is a great sepulchre of enormous extinct animals, no wonder that one great plain should be called the 'Field of the giants,' and that such names as 'the hull of the giant,' 'the stream of the animal,' should be guides to the geologist in his search for fossil bones."

About five miles to the north-east of the Corycian caverns, but divided from them by many deep gorges and impassable rocks, is another and very similar chasm. It may be reached in about an hour and a quarter from the sea by an ancient paved road, which ascends at first very steeply and then gently through bush-clad and wooded hills. Thus you come to a stretch of level ground covered with the well-preserved ruins of an ancient town. Remains of fortresses constructed of polygonal masonry, stately churches, and many houses, together with numerous tombs and reliefs, finely chiselled in the calcareous limestone of the neighbourhood, bear witness to the extent and importance of the place. Yet it is mentioned by no ancient writer. Inscriptions prove that

its name was Kanytelders or Kanytelideis, which still survives in the modern form of Kanıdiwan. The great chasm opens in the very heart of the city. So crowded are the ruins that you do not perceive the abyss till you are within a few yards of it. It is almost a complete circle, about a quarter of a mile wide, three-quarters of a mile in circumference, and uniformly two hundred feet or more in depth. The cliffs go sheer down and remind the traveller of the great quarries at Syracuse. But like the Corycian caves, the larger of which it closely resembles, the huge fissure is natural, and its bottom, like theirs, is overgrown with trees and vegetation. Two ways led down into it in antiquity, both cut through the rock. One of them was a tunnel, which is now obstructed, the other is still open. Remains of columns and hewn stones in the bottom of the chasm seem to show that a temple once stood there. But there is no cave at the foot of the cliffs, and no stream flows in the deep hollow or can be heard to rumble underground. A ruined tower of polygonal masonry, which stands on the southern edge of the chasm, bears a Greek inscription stating that it was dedicated to Olbian Zeus by the priest Teucer, son of Tarkuaris. The letters are beautifully cut in the style of the third century before Christ. We may infer that at the time of the dedication the town belonged to the priestly kings of Olba, and that the great chasm was sacred to Olbian Zeus.

What, then, was the character of the god who was worshipped under the name of Zeus at these two great natural chasms? The depth of the fissures, opening suddenly and as it were without warning in the midst of a plateau, was well fitted to impress and awe the spectator, and the sight of the rank ever-green vegetation at their bottom, fed by rivulets or underground water, must have presented a striking contrast to the grey, barren, rocky wilderness of the surrounding tableland. Such a spot must have

seemed to simple folk a paradise, a garden of God, the abode of higher powers who caused the wilderness to blossom, if not with roses, at least with myrtles and pomegranates for man, and with grass and underwood for his flocks. So to the Semite, as we saw, the Baal of the land is he who fertilizes it by subterranean water rather than by rain from the sky, and who therefore dwells in the depths of earth rather than in the height of heaven. In rainless countries the sky-god is deprived of one of the principal functions which he discharges in cool cloudy climates like that of Europe. He has, in fact, little or nothing to do with the water-supply and has therefore small excuse for levying a water-rate on his worshippers. Not, indeed, that Cilicia is rainless, but in countries bordering on the Mediterranean the drought is almost unbroken through the long months of summer. Vegetation then withers. the face of nature is scorched and brown. most of the rivers dry up, and only their white stony beds, hot to the foot and dazzling to the eye, remain to tell where they flowed. It is at such seasons that a green hollow, a shady rock, a murmuring stream, are welcomed by the wanderer in the South with a joy and wonder which the untravelled Northerner can hardly imagine. Never do the broad slow rivers of England, with their winding reaches, their grassy banks, their grey willows mirrored with the soft English sky in the placid stream, appear so beautiful as when the traveller views them for the first time after leaving behind him the aridity, the heat, the blinding glare of the white southern landscape, set in seas and skies of caerulean blue.

We may take it, then, as probable that the god of the Corycian and Olbian caverns was worshipped as a source of fertility. In antiquity, when the river, which now roars underground, still burst from the rock in the Corycian cave, the scene must have resembled Ibreez, where the god of the corn and the

vine was adored at the source of the stream, and we may compare the vale of Adonis in the Lebanon, where the divinity who gave his name to the river was revered at its foaming cascades. The three landscapes had in common the elements of luxuriant vegetation and copious streams leaping full-born from the rock. We shall hardly err in supposing that these features shaped the conception of the deities who were supposed to haunt the favoured spots. At the Corycian cave the existence of a second chasm, of a frowning and awful aspect, might well suggest the presence of an evil being who lurked in it and sought to undo the beneficent work of the good god. Thus we should have a fable of a conflict between the two, a battle of Zeus and Typhon.

On the whole we conclude that the Olbian Zeus, worshipped at one of these great limestone chasms, and clearly identical in nature with the Corycian Zeus, was also identical with the Baal of Tarsus, the god of the corn and the vine, who in his turn can hardly be separated from the god of Ibreez. If my conjecture is right the native name of the Olbian Zeus was Tark or Trok, and the priestly Teucers of Olba represented him in their own persons. On that hypothesis the Olbian priests who bore the name of Ajax embodied another native deity of unknown name, perhaps the father or the son of Tark. A comparison of the coin-types of Tarsus with the Hittite monuments of Ibreez and Boghaz-Keui led us to the conclusion that the people of Tarsus worshipped at least two distinct gods, a father and a son, the father-god being known to the Semites as Baal and to the Greeks as Zeus, while the son was called Sandan by the natives, but Hercules by the Greeks. We may surmise that at Olba the names of Teucer and Ajax designated two gods who corresponded in type to the two gods of Tarsus, and if the lesser figure at Ibreez, who appears in an attitude of adoration before the deity of the corn and the vine,

could be interpreted as the divine Son in presence of the divine Father, we should have in all three places the same pair of deities, represented probably in the flesh by successive generations of priestly kings. But the evidence is far too slender to justify us in advancing this hypothesis as anything more than a bare conjecture.

§ 8 *Cilician Goddesses*

So far, the Cilician deities discussed have been males, we have as yet found no trace of the great Mother Goddess who plays so important a part in the religion of Cappadocia and Phrygia, beyond the great dividing range of the Taurus. Yet we may suspect that she was not unknown in Cilicia, though her worship certainly seems to have been far less prominent there than in the centre of Asia Minor. The difference may perhaps be interpreted as evidence that mother-kin and hence the predominance of Mother Goddesses survived, in the bleak highlands of the interior, long after a genial climate and teeming soil had fostered the growth of a higher civilization, and with it the advance from female to male kinship, in the rich lowlands of Cilicia. Be that as it may, Cilician goddesses with or without a male partner are known to have been revered in various parts of the country.

Thus at Tarsus itself the goddess 'Atheh was worshipped along with Baal, their effigies are engraved on the same coins of the city. She is represented wearing a veil and seated upon a lion, with her name in Aramaic letters engraved beside her¹. Hence it would seem that at Tarsus, as at Boghaz-Keui, the

¹ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), p. 616 [However, Mr. G. F. Hill writes to me "The attribution to Tarsus of the 'Atheh coins is unfounded. Head himself only gives it as doubtful. I should think they belong further East." In the uncertainty which prevails on this point I have left the text unchanged. *Note to Second Edition*].

Father God mated with a lion-goddess like the Phrygian Cybele or the Syrian Atargatis. Now the name Atargatis is a Greek rendering of the Aramaic 'Athar-'atreh, a compound word which includes the name of the goddess of Tarsus. Thus in name as well as in attributes the female partner of the Baal of Tarsus appears to correspond to Atargatis, the Syrian Mother Goddess whose image, seated on a lion or lions, was worshipped with great pomp and splendour at Hierapolis-Bambyce near the Euphrates. May we go a step farther and find a correspondence between the Baal of Tarsus and the husband-god of Atargatis at Hierapolis-Bambyce? That husband-god, like the Baal of Tarsus, was identified by the Greeks with Zeus, and Lucian tells us that the resemblance of his image to the images of Zeus was in all respects unmistakable. But his image, unlike those of Zeus, was seated upon bulls. In point of fact he was probably Hadad, the chief male god of the Syrians, who appears to have been a god of thunder and fertility, for at Baalbec in the Lebanon, where the ruined temple of the Sun is the most imposing monument bequeathed to the modern world by Greek art in its decline, his image grasped in his left hand a thunderbolt and ears of corn, and a colossal statue of the deity, found near Zenjirli in Northern Syria, represents him with a bearded human head and horns, the emblem of strength and fertility. A similar god of thunder and lightning was worshipped from early times by the Babylonians and Assyrians, he bore the similar name of Adad and his emblems appear to have been a thunderbolt and a bull. On an Assyrian relief his image is represented as that of a bearded man clad in a short tunic, wearing a cap with two pairs of horns, and grasping an axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left. His resemblance to the Hittite god of the thundering sky was therefore very close. An alternative name for this Babylonian and Assyrian deity was Ramman,

an appropriate term, derived from a verb *īamānu*, to "scream" or "roar". Now we have seen that the god of Ibreez, whose attributes tally with those of the Baal of Tarsus, wears a cap adorned with bull's horns, that the Father God at Boghaz-Keui, meeting the Mother Goddess on her lioness, is attended by an animal which according to the usual interpretation is a bull, and that the bull itself was worshipped, apparently as an emblem of fertility, at Euyuk near Boghaz-Keui. Thus at Tarsus and Boghaz-Keui, as at Hierapolis-Bambyce, the Father God and the Mother Goddess would seem to have had as their sacred animals or emblems the bull and the lion respectively. In later times, under Greek influence, the goddess was apparently exchanged for, or converted into, the Fortune of the City, who appears on coins of Tarsus as a seated woman with veiled and turreted head, grasping ears of corn and a poppy in her hand. Her lion is gone, but a trace of him perhaps remains on a coin which exhibits the throne of the goddess adorned with a lion's leg. In general it would seem that the goddess Fortune, who figures commonly as the guardian of cities in the Greek East, especially in Syria, was nothing but a disguised form of Gad, the Semitic god of fortune or luck, who, though the exigencies of grammar required him to be masculine, is supposed to have been often merely a special aspect of the great goddess Astarte or Atargatis conceived as the patroness and protector of towns. In Oriental religion such permutations or combinations need not surprise us. To the gods all things are possible. In Cyprus the goddess of love wore a beard, and Alexander the Great sometimes disported himself in the costume of Artemis, while at other times he ransacked the divine wardrobe to figure in the garb of Hercules, of Hermes, and of Ammon. The change of the goddess 'Atheh of Tarsus into Gad or Fortune would be easy if we suppose that she was known as Gad-'Atheh, "Luck

of 'Atheh,' which occurs as a Semitic personal name. In like manner the goddess of Fortune at Olba, who had her small temple beside the great temple of Zeus, may have been originally the consort of the native god Tark or Tarku.

Another town in Cilicia where an Oriental god and goddess appear to have been worshipped together was Mallus. The city was built on a height in the great Cilician plain near the mouth of the river Pyramus. Its coins exhibit two winged deities, a male and a female, in a kneeling or running attitude. On some of the coins the male deity is represented, like Janus, with two heads facing opposite ways, and with two pairs of wings, while beneath him is the forepart of a bull with a human head. The obverse of the coins which bear the female deity displays a conical stone, sometimes flanked by two bunches of grapes¹. This conical stone, like those of other Asiatic cities, was probably the emblem of a Mother Goddess, and the bunches of grapes indicate her fertilizing powers. The god with the two heads and four wings can hardly be any other than the Phoenician El, whom the Greeks called Cronus, for El was characterized by four eyes, two in front and two behind, and by

¹ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), pp. 605 sq., G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, pp. cxvii sqq., 95-98, plates xv xvi xl 9, G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, ii 536 sq., pl. lxx 11-14. The male and female figures appear on separate coins. The attribution to Mallus of the coins with the female figure and conical stone has been questioned by Messrs J. P. Six and G. F. Hill. I follow the view of Messrs F. Imhoof-Blumer and B. V. Head. [However, Mr G. F. Hill writes to me that the attribution of these coins to Mallus is no longer maintained by any one. Imhoof-Blumer himself now conjecturally assigns them to Aphrodisias in Cilicia, and Mr Hill regards this conjecture as very plausible. In the uncertainty which still prevails on the subject I have left the text unchanged. For my purpose it matters little whether this Cilician goddess was worshipped at Mallus or at Aphrodisias. *Note to Second Edition*.]

three pairs of wings. A discrepancy in the number of wings can scarcely be deemed fatal to the identification. The god may easily have moulted some superfluous feathers on the road from Phœnicia to Mallus. On later coins of Mallus these quaint Oriental deities disappear, and are replaced by corresponding Greek deities, particularly by a head of Cronus on one side and a figure of Demeter, grasping ears of corn, on the other. The change doubtless sprang from a wish to assimilate the ancient native divinities to the new and fashionable divinities of the Greek pantheon. If Cronus and Demeter, the harvest god and goddess, were chosen to supplant El and his female consort, the ground of the choice must certainly have been a supposed resemblance between the two pairs of deities. We may assume, therefore, that the discarded couple, El and his wife, had also been worshipped by the husbandman as sources of fertility, the givers of corn and wine. One of these later coins of Mallus exhibits Dionysus sitting on a vine laden with ripe clusters, while on the obverse is seen a male figure guiding a yoke of oxen as if in the act of ploughing. These types of the vine-god and the ploughman probably represent another attempt to adapt the native religion to changed conditions, to pour the old Asiatic wine into new Greek bottles. The barbarous monster with the multiplicity of heads and wings has been reduced to a perfectly human Dionysus. The sacred but deplorable old conical stone no longer flaunts proudly on the coins, it has retired to a decent obscurity in favour of a natural and graceful vine. It is thus that a truly progressive theology keeps pace with the march of intellect. But if these things were done by the apostles of culture at Mallus, we cannot suppose that the clergy of Tarsus, the capital, lagged behind their provincial brethren in their efforts to place the ancient faith upon a sound modern basis. The fruit of their labours seems to have been the more or less nominal substi-

tution of Zeus, Fortune, and Hercules for Baal, 'Atheh, and Sandan

We may suspect that in like manner the Sarpedonian Artemis, who had a sanctuary in South-Eastern Cilicia, near the Syrian border, was really a native goddess parading in borrowed plumes. She gave oracular responses by the mouth of inspired men, or more probably of women, who in their moments of divine ecstasy may have been deemed incarnations of her divinity. Another even more transparently Asiatic goddess was Perasia, or Artemis Perasia, who was worshipped at Hieropolis-Castabala in Eastern Cilicia. The extensive ruins of the ancient city, now known as Bodrum, cover the slope of a hill about three-quarters of a mile to the north of the river Pyramus. Above them towers the acropolis, built on the summit of dark grey precipices, and divided from the neighbouring mountain by a deep cutting in the rock. A mediaeval castle, built of hewn blocks of reddish-yellow limestone, has replaced the ancient citadel. The city possessed a large theatre, and was traversed by two handsome colonnades, of which some columns are still standing among the ruins. A thick growth of brushwood and grass now covers most of the site, and the place is wild and solitary. Only the wandering herdsmen encamp near the deserted city in winter and spring. The neighbourhood is treeless, yet in May magnificent fields of wheat and barley gladden the eye, and in the valleys the clover grows as high as the horses' knees. The ambiguous nature of the goddess who presided over this City of the Sanctuary (*Hieropolis*)¹

¹ On the difference between Hieropolis and Hierapolis see (Sir) W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 84 sq. According to him, the cities designated by such names grew up gradually round a sanctuary, where Greek influence prevailed the city in time eclipsed the sanctuary and became known as Hierapolis, or the Sacred City, but where the native element retained its predominance the city

was confessed by a puzzled worshipper, a physician named Lucius Minus Claudianus, who confided his doubts to the deity herself in some very indifferent Greek verses. He wisely left it to the goddess to say whether she was Artemis, or the Moon, or Hecate, or Aphrodite, or Demeter. All that we know about her is that her true name was Perasia, and that she was in the enjoyment of certain revenues. Further, we may reasonably conjecture that at the Cilician Castabala she was worshipped with rites like those which were held in honour of her namesake Artemis Perasia at another city of the same name, Castabala in Cappadocia. There, as we saw, the priestesses of the goddess walked over fire with bare feet unscathed. Probably the same impressive ceremony was performed before a crowd of worshippers in the Cilician Castabala also. Whatever the exact meaning of the rite may have been, the goddess was in all probability one of those Asiatic Mother Goddesses to whom the Greeks often applied the name of Artemis. The immunity enjoyed by the priestess in the furnace was attributed to her inspiration by the deity. In discussing the nature of inspiration or possession by a deity, the Syrian philosopher Jamblichus notes as one of its symptoms a total insensibility to pain. Many inspired persons, he tells us, "are not burned by fire, the fire not taking hold of them by reason of the divine inspiration, and many, though they are burned, perceive it not, because at the time they do not live an animal life. They pierce themselves with skewers and feel nothing. They gash their backs with hatchets, they slash their arms with daggers, and know not what they do, because their acts are not those of mere men. For impassable places become passable to those who are filled with the spirit. They rush into fire, they pass through fire, they cross rivers, like the priestess at Castabala.

continued to be known as Hieropolis, or the City of the Sanctuary.

These things prove that under the influence of inspiration men are beside themselves, that their senses, their will, their life are those neither of man nor of beast, but that they lead another and a diviner life instead, whereby they are inspired and wholly possessed." Thus in traversing the fiery furnace the priestesses of Perasia were believed to be beside themselves, to be filled with the goddess, to be in a real sense incarnations of her divinity

A similar touchstone of inspiration is still applied by some villagers in the Himalayan districts of North-Western India. Once a year they worship Airi, a local deity, who is represented by a trident and has his temples on lonely hills and desolate tracts. At his festival the people seat themselves in a circle about a bonfire. A kettle-drum is beaten, and one by one his worshippers become possessed by the god and leap with shouts round the flames. Some brand themselves with heated iron spoons and sit down in the fire. Such as escape unhurt are believed to be truly inspired, while those who burn themselves are despised as mere pretenders to the divine frenzy. Persons thus possessed by the spirit are called Airi's horses or his slaves. During the revels, which commonly last about ten days, they wear red scarves round their heads and receive alms from the faithful. These men deem themselves so holy that they will let nobody touch them, and they alone may touch the sacred trident, the emblem of their god. In Western Asia itself modern fanatics still practise the same austerities which were practised by their brethren in the days of Jamblichus. "Asia Minor abounds in dervishes of different orders, who lap red-hot iron, calling it their 'rose,' chew coals of living fire, strike their heads against solid walls, stab themselves in the cheek, the scalp, the temple, with sharp spikes set in heavy weights, shouting 'Allah, Allah,' and always consistently avowing that during such frenzy they are entirely insensible to pain."

§ 9. *The Burning of the God*

On the whole, then, we seem to be justified in concluding that under a thin veil of Greek history the barbarous native god of Cilicia continued to survive, and that among them the great Asian goddess retained a place, though not the position of place which she held in the highland of the interior down at least to the beginning of our era. The principle that the inspired priest or priestess represents the deity in person applied, it is reasonable to have been recognized at Castabala and at Olba, as well as at the sanctuary of Serapdon or Artemis. There can be no intrinsic improbability, therefore, in the view that at Tarsus also the divine word of Bal 'Atheh, and Sandan may also have been pronounced by priests and priestesses, who, on the analogy of Olba and of the great sanctuaries in the interior of Asia Minor, would originally be at the same time kings and queens, princes and princesses. Further, the burning of Sandan in effigy at Tarsus would, on this hypothesis, answer to the walk of the priestess of Pcriasia through the furnace at Castabala. Both were perhaps mitigations of a custom of putting the priestly king or queen, or another member of the royal family, to death by fire.

CHAPTER VII

SARDANAPALUS AND HERCULES

§ 1 *The Burning of Sardanapalus*

THE theory that kings or princes were formerly burned to death at Tarsus in the character of gods is singularly confirmed by another and wholly independent line of argument. For, according to one account, the city of Tarsus was founded not by Sandan but by Sardanapalus, the famous Assyrian monarch whose death on a great pyre was one of the most famous incidents in Oriental legend. Near the sea, within a day's march of Tarsus, might be seen in antiquity the ruins of a great ancient city named Anchiale, and outside its walls stood a monument called the monument of Sardanapalus, on which was carved in stone the figure of the monarch. He was represented snapping the fingers of his right hand, and the gesture was explained by an accompanying inscription, engraved in Assyrian characters, to the following effect — "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyn-daraxes, built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day. Eat, drink, and play, for everything else is not worth that," by which was implied that all other human affairs were not worth a snap of the fingers. The gesture may have been misinterpreted and the inscription mistranslated, but there is no reason to doubt the existence of such a monument, though we may conjecture that it was of Hittite rather than Assyrian origin, for, not to speak of the traces of Hittite art and religion which we have found at Tarsus, a group of Hittite monuments has been discovered at Marash, in the upper valley of the Pyra-

mus The Assyrians may have ruled over Cilicia for a time, but Hittite influence was probably much deeper and more lasting The story that Tarsus was founded by Sardanapalus may well be apocryphal, but there must have been some reason for his association with the city On the present hypothesis that reason is to be found in the traditional manner of his death To avoid falling into the hands of the rebels, who laid siege to Nineveh, he built a huge pyre in his palace, heaped it up with gold and silver and purple raiment, and then burnt himself, his wife, his concubines, and his eunuchs in the fire The story is false of the historical Sardanapalus, that is, of the great Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, but it is true of his brother Shamashshumukin Being appointed king of Babylon by Ashurbanipal, he revolted against his suzerain and benefactor, and was besieged by him in his capital The siege was long and the resistance desperate, for the Babylonians knew that they had no mercy to expect from the ruthless Assyrians But they were decimated by famine and pestilence, and when the city could hold out no more, King Shamashshumukin, determined not to fall alive into the hands of his offended brother, shut himself up in his palace, and there burned himself to death, along with his wives, his children, his slaves, and his treasures, at the very moment when the conquerors were breaking in the gates Not many years afterwards the same tragedy was repeated at Nineveh itself by Saracus or Sinsharishkun, the last king of Assyria Besieged by the rebel Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, and by Cyaxares, king of the Medes, he burned himself in his palace That was the end of Nineveh and of the Assyrian empire Thus Greek history preserved the memory of the catastrophe, but transferred it from the real victims to the far more famous Ashurbanipal, whose figure in after ages loomed vast and dim against the setting sun of Assyrian glory

§ 2 *The Burning of Croesus*

Another Oriental monarch who prepared at least to die in the flames was Croesus, king of Lydia. Herodotus tells how the Persians under Cyrus captured Sardes, the Lydian capital, and took Croesus alive, and how Cyrus caused a great pyre to be erected, on which he placed the captive monarch in fetters, and with him twice seven Lydian youths. Fire was then applied to the pile, but at the last moment Cyrus relented, a sudden shower extinguished the flames, and Croesus was spared. But it is most improbable that the Persians, with their profound reverence for the sanctity of fire, should have thought of defiling the sacred element with the worst of all pollutions, the contact of dead bodies. Such an act would have seemed to them sacrilege of the deepest dye. For to them fire was the earthly form of the heavenly light, the eternal, the infinite, the divine, death, on the other hand, was in their opinion the main source of corruption and uncleanness. Hence they took the most stringent precautions to guard the purity of fire from the defilement of death. If a man or a dog died in a house where the holy fire burned, the fire had to be removed from the house and kept away for nine nights in winter or a month in summer before it might be brought back, and if any man broke the rule by bringing back the fire within the appointed time, he might be punished with two hundred stripes. As for burning a corpse in the fire, it was the most heinous of all sins, an invention of Ahriman, the devil, there was no atonement for it, and it was punished with death. Nor did the law remain a dead letter. Down to the beginning of our era the death penalty was inflicted on all who threw a corpse or cow-dung on the fire, nay, even on such as blew on the fire with their breath. It is hard, therefore, to believe that a Persian king should have commanded his subjects to perpe-

trate a deed which he and they viewed with horror as the most flagitious sacrilege conceivable

Another and in some respects truer version of the story of Croesus and Cyrus has been preserved by two older witnesses—namely, by the Greek poet Bacchylides, who was born some forty years after the event, and by a Greek artist who painted the scene on a red-figured vase about, or soon after, the time of the poet's birth. Bacchylides tells us that when the Persians captured Sardes, Croesus, unable to brook the thought of slavery, caused a pyre to be erected in front of his courtyard, mounted it with his wife and daughters, and bade a page apply a light to the wood. A bright blaze shot up, but Zeus extinguished it with rain from heaven, and Apollo of the Golden Sword wafted the pious king and his daughters to the happy land beyond the North Wind. In like manner the vase-painter clearly represents the burning of Croesus as a voluntary act, not as a punishment inflicted on him by the conqueror. He lets us see the king enthroned upon the pyre with a wreath of laurel on his head and a sceptre in one hand, while with the other he is pouring a libation. An attendant is in the act of applying to the pile two objects which have been variously interpreted as torches to kindle the wood or whisks to sprinkle holy water. The demeanour of the king is solemn and composed—he seems to be performing a religious rite, not suffering an ignominious death.

Thus we may fairly conclude with some eminent modern scholars that in the extremity of his fortunes Croesus prepared to meet death like a king or a god in the flames. It was thus that Hercules, from whom the old kings of Lydia claimed to be sprung, ascended from earth to heaven—it was thus that Zimri, king of Israel, passed beyond the reach of his enemies—it was thus that Shamashshumukin, king of Babylon, escaped a brother's vengeance—it was thus that the last king of Assyria expired in the

ruins of his capital, and it was thus that, sixty-six years after the capture of Sardes, the Carthaginian king Hamilcar sought to retrieve a lost battle by a hero's death.

Semiramis herself, the legendary queen of Assyria, is said to have burnt herself on a pyre out of grief at the death of a favourite horse. Since there are strong grounds for regarding the queen in her mythical aspect as a form of Ishtar or Astarte, the legend that Semiramis died for love in the flames furnishes a remarkable parallel to the traditionary death of the love-lorn Dido, who herself appears to be simply an Avatar of the same great Asiatic goddess. When we compare these stories of the burning of Semiramis and Dido with each other and with the historical cases of the burning of Oriental monarchs, we may perhaps conclude that there was a time when queens as well as kings were expected under certain circumstances, perhaps on the death of their consort, to perish in the fire. The conclusion can hardly be deemed extravagant when we remember that the practice of burning widows to death survived in India under English rule down to a time within living memory.

At Jerusalem itself a reminiscence of the practice of burning kings, alive or dead, appears to have lingered as late as the time of Isaiah, who says "For Tophet is prepared of old, yea, for the king it is made ready, he hath made it deep and large the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." We know that "great burnings" were regularly made for dead kings of Judah, and it can hardly be accidental that the place assigned by Isaiah to the king's pyre is the very spot in the Valley of Hinnom where the first-born children were actually burned by their parents in honour of Moloch "the King." The exact site of the Valley of Hinnom is disputed, but all are agreed in identifying it with one of the ravines which

supposed, the axe was the symbol of the Asiatic thunder-god, it would be an appropriate emblem in the hand of kings, who are so often expected to make rain, thunder, and lightning for the good of their people. Whether the kings of Lydia were bound to make thunder and rain we do not know, but at all events, like many early monarchs, they seem to have been held responsible for the weather and the crops. In the reign of Meles the country suffered severely from dearth, so the people consulted an oracle, and the deity laid the blame on the kings, one of whom had in former years incurred the guilt of murder. The soothsayers accordingly declared that King Meles, though his own hands were clean, must be banished for three years in order that the taint of bloodshed should be purged away. The king obeyed and retired to Babylon, where he lived three years. In his absence the kingdom was administered by a deputy, a certain Sadyattes, son of Cadys, who traced his descent from Tylon. As to this Tylon we shall hear more presently. Again, we read that the Lydians rejoiced greatly at the assassination of Spermus, another of their kings, "for he was very wicked, and the land suffered from drought in his reign." Apparently, like the ancient Irish and many modern Africans, they laid the drought at the king's door, and thought that he only got what he deserved under the knife of the assassin.

With regard to the lion, the other emblem of the Cilician Hercules, we are told that the same king Meles, who was banished because of a dearth, sought to make the acropolis of Sardes impregnable by carrying round it a lion which a concubine had borne to him. Unfortunately at a single point, where the precipices were such that it seemed as if no human foot could scale them, he omitted to carry the beast, and sure enough at that very point the Persians afterwards clambered up into the citadel. Now Meles was one of the old Heraclid dynasty, who

boasted their descent from the lion-hero Hercules, hence the carrying of a lion round the acropolis was probably a form of consecration intended to place the stronghold under the guardianship of the lion-god, the hereditary deity of the royal family. And the story that the king's concubine gave birth to a lion's whelp suggests that the Lydian kings not only claimed kinship with the beast, but posed as lions in their own persons and passed off their sons as lion-cubs. Croesus dedicated at Delphi a lion of pure gold, perhaps as a badge of Lydia, and Hercules with his lion's skin is a common type on coins of Sardes.

Thus the death, or the attempted death, of Croesus on the pyre completes the analogy between the Cilician and the Lydian Hercules. At Tarsus and at Sardes we find the worship of a god whose symbols were the lion and the double-headed axe, and who was burned on a great pyre, either in effigy or in the person of a human representative. The Greeks called him Hercules, but his native name was Sandan or Sandon. At Sardes he seems to have been personated by the kings, who carried the double-axe and perhaps wore, like their ancestor Hercules, the lion's skin. We may conjecture that at Tarsus also the royal family aped the lion-god. At all events we know that Sandan, the name of the god, entered into the names of Cilician kings, and that in later times the priests of Sandan at Tarsus wore the royal purple.

§ 5 *Hittite Gods at Tarsus and Sardes*

Now we have traced the religion of Tarsus back by a double thread to the Hittite religion of Cappadocia. One thread joins the Baal of Tarsus, with his grapes and his corn, to the god of Ibreez. The other thread unites the Sandan of Tarsus, with his lion and his double axe, to the similar figure at Boghaz-Keui. Without being unduly fanciful, therefore, we may surmise that the Sandon-Hercules of Lydia was also a Hittite god, and that the Herachd

dynasty of Lydia were of Hittite blood. Certainly the influence, if not the rule, of the Hittites extended to Lydia, for at least two rock-carvings accompanied by Hittite inscriptions are still to be seen in the country. Both of them attracted the attention of the ancient Greeks. One of them represents a god or warrior in Hittite costume armed with a spear and bow. It is carved on the face of a grey rock, which stands out conspicuous on a bushy hillside, where an old road runs through a glen from the valley of the Hermus to the valley of the Cayster. The place is now called Kara-Bel. Herodotus thought that the figure represented the Egyptian king and conqueror Sesostris. The other monument is a colossal seated figure of the Mother of the Gods, locally known in antiquity as Mother Plastene. It is hewn out of the solid rock and occupies a large niche in the face of a cliff at the steep northern foot of Mount Sipylus. Thus it would seem that at some time or other the Hittites carried their arms to the shores of the Aegean. There is no improbability, therefore, in the view that a Hittite dynasty may have reigned at Sardes.

§ 6 *The Resurrection of Tylon*

The burning of Sandan, like that of Melcarth, was probably followed by a ceremony of his resurrection or awakening, to indicate that the divine life was not extinct, but had only assumed a fresher and purer form. Of that resurrection we have, so far as I am aware, no direct evidence. In default of it, however, there is a tale of a local Lydian hero called Tylon or Tylus, who was killed and brought to life again. The story runs thus. Tylon or Tylus was a son of Earth. One day as he was walking on the banks of the Hermus a serpent stung and killed him. His distressed sister Moire had recourse to a giant named Damasen, who attacked and slew the serpent. But the serpent's mate culled a herb, "the flower of Zeus," in the woods, and bringing it in her mouth put

it to the lips of the dead serpent, which immediately revived. In her turn Moire took the hint and restored her brother Tylon to life by touching him with the same plant. A similar incident occurs in many folk-tales. Serpents are often credited with a knowledge of life-giving plants. But Tylon seems to have been more than a mere hero of fairy-tales. He was closely associated with Sardes, for he figures on the coins of the city along with his champion Damasen or Masnes, the dead serpent, and the life-giving branch. And he was related in various ways to the royal family of Lydia, for his daughter married Cotys, one of the earliest kings of the country, and a descendant of his acted as regent during the banishment of King Meles. It has been suggested that the story of his death and resurrection was acted as a pageant to symbolize the revival of plant life in spring. At all events, a festival called the Feast of the Golden Flower was celebrated in honour of Persephone at Sardes, probably in one of the vernal months, and the revival of the hero and of the goddess may well have been represented together. The Golden Flower of the Festival would then be the "flower of Zeus" of the legend, perhaps the yellow crocus of nature or rather her more gorgeous sister, the Oriental saffron. For saffron grew in great abundance at the Corycian cave of Zeus, and it is an elegant conjecture, if it is nothing more, that the very name of the place meant "the Crocus Cave." However, on the coins of Sardes the magical plant seems to be a branch rather than a blossom, a Golden Bough rather than a Golden Flower.

CHAPTER VIII

VOLCANIC RELIGION

§ 1 *The Burning of a God*

THUS it appears that a custom of burning a god in effigy or in the person of a human representative was practised by at least two peoples of Western Asia, the Phoenicians and the Hittites. Whether they both developed the custom independently, or whether one of them adopted it from the other, we cannot say. And their reasons for celebrating a rite which to us seems strange and monstrous are also obscure. In the preceding inquiry some grounds have been adduced for thinking that the practice was based on a conception of the purifying virtue of fire, which, by destroying the corruptible and perishable elements of man, was supposed to fit him for union with the imperishable and the divine. Now to people who created their gods in their own likeness, and imagined them subject to the same law of decadence and death, the idea would naturally occur that fire might do for the gods what it was believed to do for men, that it could purge them of the taint of corruption and decay, could sift the mortal from the immortal in their composition, and so endow them with eternal youth. Hence a custom might arise of subjecting the deities themselves, or the more important of them, to an ordeal of fire for the purpose of refreshing and renovating those creative energies on the maintenance of which so much depended. To the coarse apprehension of the un instructed and unsympathetic observer the solemn rite might easily wear a very different aspect. According as he was of a pious or of a sceptical turn

of mind, he might denounce it as a sacrilege or deride it as an absurdity. "To burn the god whom you worship," he might say, "is the height of impiety and of folly. If you succeed in the attempt, you kill him and deprive yourselves of his valuable services. If you fail, you have mortally offended him, and sooner or later he will visit you with his severe displeasure." To this the worshipper, if he was patient and polite, might listen with a smile of indulgent pity for the ignorance and obtuseness of the critic. "You are much mistaken," he might observe, "in imagining that we expect or attempt to kill the god whom we adore. The idea of such a thing is as repugnant to us as to you. Our intention is precisely the opposite of that which you attribute to us. Far from wishing to destroy the deity, we desire to make him live for ever, to place him beyond the reach of that process of degeneration and final dissolution to which all things here below appear by their nature to be subject. He does not die in the fire. Oh no! Only the corruptible and mortal part of him perishes in the flames. All that is incorruptible and immortal of him will survive the purer and stronger for being freed from the contagion of baser elements. That little heap of ashes which you see there is not our god. It is only the skin which he has sloughed, the husk which he has cast. He himself is far away, in the clouds of heaven, in the depths of earth, in the running waters, in the tree and the flower, in the corn and the vine. We do not see him face to face, but every year he manifests his divine life afresh in the blossoms of spring and the fruits of autumn. We eat of his broken body in bread. We drink of his shed blood in the juice of the grape."

§ 2 *The Volcanic Region of Cappadocia*

Some such train of reasoning may suffice to explain, though naturally not to justify, the custom which we bluntly call the burning of a god. Yet it is worth

while to ask whether in the development of the practice these general considerations may not have been reinforced or modified by special circumstances, for example, by the natural features of the country where the custom grew up. For the history of religion, like that of all other human institutions, has been profoundly affected by local conditions, and cannot be fully understood apart from them. Now Asia Minor, the region where the practice in question appears to have been widely diffused, has from time immemorial been subjected to the action of volcanic forces on a great scale. It is true that, so far as the memory of man goes back, the craters of its volcanoes have been extinct, but the vestiges of their dead or slumbering fires are to be seen in many places, and the country has been shaken and rent at intervals by tremendous earthquakes. These phenomena cannot fail to have impressed the imagination of the inhabitants, and thereby to have left some mark on their religion.

Among the extinct volcanoes of Anatolia the greatest is Mount Argæus, in the centre of Cappadocia, the heart of the old Hittite country. It is indeed the highest point of Asia Minor, and one of the loftiest mountains known to the ancients, for in height it falls not very far short of Mont Blanc. Towering abruptly in a huge pyramid from the plain, it is a conspicuous object for miles on miles. Its top is white with eternal snow, and in antiquity its lower slopes were clothed with dense forests, from which the inhabitants of the treeless Cappadocian plains drew their supply of timber. In these woods, and in the low grounds at the foot of the mountain, the languishing fires of the volcano manifested themselves as late as the beginning of our era. The ground was treacherous. Under a grassy surface there lurked pits of fire, into which stray cattle and unwary travellers often fell. Experienced woodmen used great caution when they went to fell trees in the forest. Elsewhere the soil was marshy, and flames were seen to play over it at

night. Superstitious fancies no doubt gathered thick around these perilous spots, but what shape they took we cannot say. Nor do we know whether sacrifices were offered on the top of the mountain, though a curious discovery may perhaps be thought to indicate that they were. Sharp and lofty pinnacles of red porphyry, inaccessible to the climber, rise in imposing grandeur from the eternal snow of the summit, and here Mr. Tozer found that the rock had been perforated in various places with human habitations. One such rock-hewn dwelling winds inward for a considerable distance; rude niches are hollowed in its sides, and on its roof and walls may be seen the marks of tools. The ancients certainly did not climb mountains for pleasure or health, and it is difficult to imagine that any motive but superstition should have led them to provide dwellings in such a place. These rock-cut chambers may have been shelters for priests charged with the performance of religious or magical rites on the summit.

§ 3 *Fire-Worship in Cappadocia*

Under the Persian rule Cappadocia became, and long continued to be, a great seat of the Zoroastrian fire-worship. In the time of Strabo, about the beginning of our era, the votaries of that faith and their temples were still numerous in the country. The perpetual fire burned on an altar, surrounded by a heap of ashes, in the middle of the temple, and the priests daily chanted their liturgy before it, holding in their hands a bundle of myrtle rods and wearing on their heads tall felt caps with cheek-pieces which covered their lips, lest they should defile the sacred flame with their breath. It is reasonable to suppose that the natural fires which burned perpetually on the outskirts of Mount Argæus attracted the devotion of the disciples of Zoroaster, for elsewhere similar fires have been the object of religious reverence down to modern times. Thus at Jualamukhi, on the lower slopes of

the Himalayas, jets of combustible gas issue from the earth, and a great Hindoo temple, the resort of many pilgrims, is built over them. The perpetual flame, which is of a reddish hue and emits an aromatic perfume, rises from a pit in the fore-court of the sanctuary. The worshippers deliver their gifts, consisting usually of flowers, to the attendant fakirs, who first hold them over the flame and then cast them into the body of the temple. Again, Hindoo pilgrims make their way with great difficulty to Baku on the Caspian, in order to worship the everlasting fires which there issue from the beds of petroleum. The sacred spot is about ten miles to the north-east of the city. An English traveller, who visited Baku in the middle of the eighteenth century, has thus described the place and the worship. "There are several ancient temples built with stone, supposed to have been all dedicated to fire, most of them are arched vaults, not above ten to fifteen feet high. Amongst others there is a little temple, in which the Indians now worship, near the altar, about three feet high, is a large hollow cane, from the end of which issues a blue flame, in colour and gentleness not unlike a lamp that burns with spirits, but seemingly more pure. These Indians affirm that this flame has continued ever since the flood, and they believe it will last to the end of the world, that if it was resisted or suppressed in that place, it would rise in some other. Here are generally forty or fifty of these poor devotees, who come on a pilgrimage from their own country, and subsist upon wild sallary, and a kind of Jerusalem artichokes, which are very good food, with other herbs and roots, found a little to the northward. Their business is to make expiation, not for their own sins only, but for those of others, and they continue the longer time, in proportion to the number of persons for whom they have engaged to pray. They mark their foreheads with saffron, and have a great veneration for a red cow." Thus it would seem that a purifying virtue

is attributed to the sacred flame, since pilgrims come to it from far to expiate sin

§ 4 *The Burnt Land of Lydia*

Another volcanic region of Asia Minor is the district of Lydia, to which, on account of its remarkable appearance, the Greeks gave the name of the Burnt Land. It lies to the east of Sardes in the upper valley of the Hermus, and covers an area of about fifty miles by forty. As described by Strabo, the country was wholly treeless except for the vines, which produced a wine inferior to none of the most famous vintages of antiquity. The surface of the plains was like ashes, the hills were composed of black stone, as if they had been scorched by fire. Some people laid the scene of Typhon's battle with the gods in this Black Country, and supposed that it had been burnt by the thunderbolts hurled from heaven at the impious monster. The philosophic Strabo, however, held that the fires which had wrought this havoc were subterranean, not celestial, and he pointed to three craters, at intervals of about four miles, each in a hill of scoriae which he supposed to have been once molten matter ejected by the volcanoes. His observation and his theory have both been confirmed by modern science. The three extinct volcanoes to which he referred are still conspicuous features of the landscape. Each is a black cone of loose cinders, scoriae, and ashes, with steep sides and a deep crater. From each a flood of rugged black lava has flowed forth, bursting out at the foot of the cone, and then rushing down the dale to the bed of the Hermus. The dark streams follow all the sinuosities of the valleys, their sombre hue contrasting with the rich verdure of the surrounding landscape. Their surface, broken into a thousand fantastic forms, resembles a sea lashed into fury by a gale, and then suddenly hardened into stone. Regarded from the geological point of view, these black cones of cinders and these black rivers of

lava are of comparatively recent formation. Exposure to the weather for thousands of years has not yet softened their asperities and decomposed them into vegetable mould, they are as hard and ungenial as if the volcanic stream had ceased to flow but yesterday. But in the same district there are upwards of thirty other volcanic cones, whose greater age is proved by their softened forms, their smoother sides, and their mantle of vegetation. Some of them are planted with vineyards to their summits. Thus the volcanic soil is still as favourable to the cultivation of the vine as it was in antiquity. The relation between the two was noted by the ancients. Strabo compares the vines of the Burnt Land with the vineyards of Catania fertilized by the ashes of Mount Etna, and he tells us that some ingenious persons explained the fire-born Dionysus as a myth of the grapes fostered by volcanic agency.

§ 5 *The Earthquake God*

But the inhabitants of these regions were reminded of the slumbering fires by other and less agreeable tokens than the generous juice of their grapes. For not the Burnt Land only but the country to the south, including the whole valley of the Maeander, was subject to frequent and violent shocks of earthquake. The soil was loose, friable, and full of salts, the ground hollow, undermined by fire and water. In particular the city of Philadelphia was a great centre of disturbance. The shocks there, we were told, were continuous. The houses rocked, the walls cracked and gaped, the few inhabitants were kept busy repairing the breaches or buttressing and propping the edifices which threatened to tumble about their ears. Most of the citizens, indeed, had the prudence to dwell dispersed on their farms. It was a marvel, says Strabo, that such a city should have any inhabitants at all, and a still greater marvel that it should ever have been built. However, by a wise

dispensation of Providence, the earthquakes which shook the foundations of their houses only strengthened those of their faith. The people of Apameia, whose town was repeatedly devastated, paid their devotions with great fervour to Poseidon, the earthquake god. Again, the island of Santorin, in the Greek Archipelago, has been for thousands of years a great theatre of volcanic activity. On one occasion the waters of the bay boiled and flamed for four days, and an island composed of red-hot matter rose gradually, as if hoisted by machinery, above the waves. It happened that the sovereignty of the seas was then with the Rhodians, those merchant-princes whose prudent policy, strict but benevolent oligarchy, and beautiful island-city, rich with accumulated treasures of native art, rendered them in a sense the Venetians of the ancient world. So when the ebullition and heat of the eruption had subsided, their sea-captains landed in the new island, and founded a sanctuary of Poseidon the Establisher or Securer, a complimentary epithet often bestowed on him as a hint not to shake the earth more than he could conveniently help. In many places people sacrificed to Poseidon the Establisher, in the hope that he would be as good as his name and not bring down their houses on their heads.

Another instance of a Greek attempt to quiet the perturbed spirit underground is instructive, because similar efforts are still made by savages in similar circumstances. Once when a Spartan army under King Agesipolis had taken the field, it chanced that the ground under their feet was shaken by an earthquake. It was evening, and the king was at mess with the officers of his staff. No sooner did they feel the shock than, with great presence of mind, they rose from their dinner and struck up a popular hymn in honour of Poseidon. The soldiers outside the tent took up the strain, and soon the whole army joined in the sacred melody. It is not said whether the flute-band, which always played the Spartan redcoats into

action, accompanied the deep voices of the men with its shrill music. At all events, the intention of this service of praise, addressed to the earth-shaking god, can only have been to prevail on him to stop. I have spoken of the Spartan redcoats because the uniform of Spartan soldiers was red. As they fought in an extended, not a deep, formation, a Spartan line of battle must always have been, what the British used to be, a thin red line. It was in this order and no doubt with the music playing and the sun flashing on their arms, that they advanced to meet the Persians at Thermopylae. Like Cromwell's Ironsides, these men could fight as well as sing psalms.

If the Spartans imagined that they could stop an earthquake by a soldiers' chorus, their theory and practice resembled those of many other barbarians. Thus the people of Timor, in the East Indies, think that the earth rests on the shoulder of a mighty giant, and that when he is weary of bearing it on one shoulder he shifts it to the other, and so causes the ground to quake. At such times, accordingly, they all shout at the top of their voices to let him know that there are still people on the earth, for otherwise they fear lest, impatient of his burden, he might tip it into the sea. The Manichaeans held a precisely similar theory of earthquakes, except that according to them the weary giant transferred his burden from one shoulder to the other at the end of every thirty years, a view which, at all events, points to the observation of a cycle in the recurrence of earthquake shocks. But we are not told that these heretics reduced an absurd theory to an absurd practice by raising a shout in order to remind the earth-shaker of the inconvenience he was putting them to. However, both the theory and the practice are to be found in full force in various parts of the East Indies. When the Balinese and the Sundanese feel an earthquake they cry out, "Still alive," or "We still live," to acquaint the earth-shaking god or giant with their

existence The natives of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, islands of the Indian Archipelago, imagine that earthquakes are caused by Grandmother Earth in order to ascertain whether her descendants are still to the fore So they make loud noises for the purpose of satisfying her grandmotherly solicitude The Tamu of German New Guinea ascribe earthquakes to a certain old Panku who sits under a great rock, when he stirs, the earth quakes If the shock lasts a long time they beat on the ground with palm-branches, saying, "You down there! easy a little! We men are still here" The Shans of Burma are taught by Buddhist monks that under the world there sleeps a great fish with his tail in his mouth, but sometimes he wakes, bites his tail, and quivering with pain causes the ground to quiver and shake likewise That is the cause of great earthquakes But the cause of little earthquakes is different These are produced by little men who live underground and sometimes feeling lonely knock on the roof of the world over their heads, these knockings we perceive as slight shocks of earthquakes When Shans feel such a shock, they run out of their houses, kneel down, and answer the little men saying, "We are here! We are here!" Earthquakes are common in the Pampa del Sacramento of Eastern Peru The Conibos, a tribe of Indians on the left bank of the great Ucayali River, attribute these disturbances to the creator, who usually resides in heaven, but comes down from time to time to see whether the work of his hands still exists The result of his descent is an earthquake So when one happens, these Indians rush out of their huts with extravagant gestures shouting, as if in answer to a question, "A moment, a moment, here I am, father, here I am!" Their intention is, no doubt, to assure their heavenly father that they are still alive, and that he may return to his mansion on high with an easy mind They never remember the creator nor pay him any heed except at an earthquake In Africa

the Atonga tribe of Lake Nyassa used to believe that an earthquake was the voice of God calling to inquire whether his people were all there. So when the rumble was heard underground they all shouted in answer, "Ye, ye," and some of them went to the mortars used for pounding corn and beat on them with pestles. They thought that if any one of them did not thus answer to the divine call he would die. In Ourwira the people think that an earthquake is caused by a dead sultan marching past underground, so they stand up to do him honour, and some raise their hands to the salute. Were they to omit these marks of respect to the deceased, they would run the risk of being swallowed up alive. The Baganda of Central Africa used to attribute earthquakes to a certain god named Musisi, who lived underground and set the earth in a tremor when he moved about. At such times persons who had fetishes to hand patted them and begged the god to be still, women who were with child patted their bellies to keep the god from taking either their own life or that of their unborn babes, others raised a shrill cry to induce him to remain quiet.

When the Bataks of Sumatra feel an earthquake they shout "The handle! The handle!" The meaning of the cry is variously explained. Some say that it contains a delicate allusion to the sword which is thrust up to the hilt into the body of the demon or serpent who shakes the earth. Thus explained the words are a jeer or taunt levelled at that mischievous being. Others say that when Batara-guru, the creator, was about to fashion the earth he began by building a raft, which he commanded a certain Naga-padoha to support. While he was hard at work his chisel broke, and at the same moment Naga-padoha budged under his burden. Therefore Batara-guru said, "Hold hard a moment! The handle of the chisel is broken off." And that is why the Bataks call out "The handle of the chisel" during an earthquake. They believe that the deluded Naga-padoha will take

the words for the voice of the creator, and that he will hold hard accordingly

When the earth quakes in some parts of Celebes, it is said that all the inhabitants of a village will rush out of their houses and grub up grass by handfuls in order to attract the attention of the earth-spirit, who, feeling his hair thus torn out by the roots, will be painfully conscious that there are still people above ground. So in Samoa, during shocks of earthquake, the natives sometimes ran and threw themselves on the ground, gnawed the earth, and shouted frantically to the earthquake god Mafuie to desist lest he should shake the earth to pieces. They consoled themselves with the thought that Mafuie has only one arm, saying, "If he had two, what a shake he would give!" The Bagobos of the Philippine Islands believe that the earth rests on a great post, which a large serpent is trying to remove. When the serpent shakes the post, the earth quakes. At such times the Bagobos beat their dogs to make them howl, for the howling of the animals frightens the serpent, and he stops shaking the post. Hence so long as an earthquake lasts the howls of dogs may be heard to proceed from every house in a Bagobo village. The Tongans think that the earth is supported on the prostrate form of the god M6ooi. When he is tired of lying in one posture, he tries to turn himself about, and that causes an earthquake. Then the people shout and beat the ground with sticks to make him lie still. During an earthquake the Burmese make a great uproar, beating the walls of their houses and shouting, to frighten away the evil genius who is shaking the earth. On a like occasion and for a like purpose some natives of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain beat drums and blow on shells. The Dorasques, an Indian tribe of Panama, believed that the volcano of Chiriqui was inhabited by a powerful spirit, who, in his anger, caused an earthquake. At such times the Indians shot volleys of arrows in the direction of the volcano to terrify

him and make him desist. Some of the Peruvian Indians regarded an earthquake as a sign that the gods were thirsty, so they poured water on the ground. In Ashantee several persons used to be put to death after an earthquake, they were slain as a sacrifice to Sasabonsun, the earthquake god, in the hope of satiating his cruelty for a time. Houses which had been thrown down or damaged by an earthquake were sprinkled with human blood before they were rebuilt. When part of the wall of the king's house at Coomassie was knocked down by an earthquake, fifty young girls were slaughtered, and the mud to be used in the repairs was kneaded with their blood.

An English resident in Fiji attributed a sudden access of piety in Kantavu, one of the islands, to a tremendous earthquake which destroyed many of the natives. The Fijians think that their islands rest on a god, who causes earthquakes by turning over in his sleep. So they sacrifice to him things of great value in order that he may turn as gently as possible. In Nias a violent earthquake has a salutary effect on the morals of the natives. They suppose that it is brought about by a certain Batoo Bedano, who intends to destroy the earth because of the iniquity of mankind. So they assemble and fashion a great image out of the trunk of a tree. They make offerings, they confess their sins, they correct the fraudulent weights and measures, they vow to do better in the future, they implore mercy, and if the earth has gaped, they throw a little gold into the fissure. But when the danger is over, all their fine vows and promises are soon forgotten.

We may surmise that in those Greek lands which have suffered severely from earthquakes, such as Achaia and the western coasts of Asia Minor, Poseidon was worshipped not less as an earthquake-god than as a sea-god. It is to be remembered that an earthquake is often accompanied by a tremendous wave which comes rolling in like a mountain from the sea,

swamping the country far and wide, indeed on the coasts of Chili and Peru, which have often been devastated by both, the wave is said to be even more dreaded than the earthquake. The Greeks often experienced this combination of catastrophes, this conspiracy, as it were, of earth and sea against the life and works of man. It was thus that Helice, on the coast of Achaia, perished with all its inhabitants on a winter night, overwhelmed by the billows, and its destruction was set down to the wrath of Poseidon. Nothing could be more natural than that to people familiar with the twofold calamity the dreadful god of the earthquake and of the sea should appear to be one and the same. The historian Diodorus Siculus observes that Peloponnese was deemed to have been in ancient days the abode of Poseidon, that the whole country was in a manner sacred to him, and that every city in it worshipped him above all the gods. The devotion to Poseidon he explains partly by the earthquakes and floods by which the land has been visited, partly by the remarkable chasms and subterranean rivers which are a conspicuous feature of its limestone mountains.

§ 6 *The Worship of Mephitic Vapours*

But eruptions and earthquakes, though the most tremendous, are not the only phenomena of volcanic regions which have affected the religion of the inhabitants. Poisonous mephitic vapours and hot springs, which abound especially in volcanic regions, have also had their devotees, and both are, or were formerly, to be found in those western districts of Asia Minor with which we are here concerned. To begin with vapours, we may take as an illustration of their deadly effect the Guevo Upas, or Valley of Poison, near Batur in Java. It is the crater of an extinct volcano, about half a mile in circumference, and from thirty to thirty-five feet deep. Neither man nor beast can descend to the bottom and live. The ground is

covered with the carcasses of tigers, deer, birds, and even the bones of men, all killed by the abundant emanations of carbonic acid gas which exhale from the soil. Animals let down into it die in a few minutes. The whole range of hills is volcanic. Two neighbouring craters constantly emit smoke. In another crater of Java, near the volcano Talaga Bodas, the sulphurous exhalations have proved fatal to tigers, birds, and countless insects; and the soft parts of these creatures, such as fibres, muscles, hair, and skin, are well preserved, while the bones are corroded or destroyed.

The ancients were acquainted with such noxious vapours in their own country, and they regarded the vents from which they were discharged as entrances to the infernal regions. The Greeks called them places of Pluto (*Plutonia*) or places of Charon (*Charonia*). In Italy the vapours were personified as a goddess, who bore the name of Mefitis and was worshipped in various parts of the peninsula. She had a temple in the famous valley of Amsanctus in the land of the Hirpini, where the exhalations, supposed to be the breath of Pluto himself, were of so deadly a character that all who set foot on the spot died. The place is a glen, partly wooded with chestnut trees, among limestone hills, distant about four miles from the town of Frigento. Here, under a steep shelving bank of decomposed limestone, there is a pool of dark ash-coloured water, which continually bubbles up with an explosion like distant thunder. A rapid stream of the same blackish water rushes into the pool from under the barren rocky hill, but the fall is not more than a few feet. A little higher up are apertures in the ground, through which warm blasts of sulphuretted hydrogen are constantly issuing with more or less noise, according to the size of the holes. These blasts are no doubt what the ancients deemed the breath of Pluto. The pool is now called *Mefite* and the holes *Mefitinelle*. On the other side of the pool

is a smaller pond called the *Coccao*, or Cauldron, because it appears to be perpetually boiling. Thick masses of mephitic vapour, visible a hundred yards off, float in rapid undulations on its surface. The exhalations given off by these waters are sometimes fatal, especially when they are borne on a high wind. But as the carbonic acid gas does not naturally rise more than two or three feet from the ground, it is possible in calm weather to walk round the pools, though to stoop is difficult and to fall would be dangerous. The ancient temple of Mefitis has been replaced by a shrine of the martyred Santa Felicita.

Similar discharges of poisonous vapours took place at various points in the volcanic district of Caria, and were the object of superstitious veneration in antiquity. Thus at the village of Thymbria there was a sacred cave which gave out deadly emanations, and the place was deemed a sanctuary of Charon. A similar cave might be seen at the village of Acharaca near Nysa, in the valley of the Maeander. Here, below the cave, there was a fine grove with a temple dedicated to Pluto and Persephone. The place was sacred to Pluto, yet sick people resorted to it for the restoration of their health. They lived in the neighbouring village, and the priests prescribed for them according to the revelations which they received from the two deities in dreams. Often the priests would take the patients to the cave and leave them there for days without food. Sometimes the sufferers themselves were favoured with revelations in dreams, but they always acted under the spiritual direction of the priests. To all but the sick the place was unapproachable and fatal. Once a year a festival was held in the village, and then afflicted folk came in crowds to be rid of their ailments. About the hour of noon on that day a number of athletic young men, their naked bodies greased with oil, used to carry a bull up to the cave and there let it go. But the beast had not taken a few steps into the cavern before

granate-trees overhang the little lake and add to its charm. Yet the enchanted spot has its dangers. Bubbles of carbonic acid gas rise incessantly from the bottom and mount like flickering particles of silver to the surface. Birds and beasts which come to drink of the water are sometimes found dead on the bank, stifled by the noxious vapour, and the villagers tell of bathers who have been overpowered by it and drowned, or dragged down, as they say, to death by the water-spirit.

The streams of hot water, no longer regulated by the care of a religious population, have for centuries been allowed to overflow their channels and to spread unchecked over the tableland. By the deposit which they leave behind they have raised the surface of the ground many feet, their white ridges concealing the ruins and impeding the footstep, except where the old channels, filled up solidly to the brim, now form hard level footpaths, from which the traveller may survey the strange scene without quitting the saddle. In antiquity the husbandmen used purposely to lead the water in rills round their lands, and thus in a few years their fields and vineyards were enclosed with walls of solid stone. The water was also peculiarly adapted for the dyeing of woollen stuffs. Tinged with dyes extracted from certain roots, it imparted to cloths dipped in it the finest shades of purple and scarlet.

We cannot doubt that Hierapolis owed its reputation as a holy city in great part to its hot springs and mephitic vapours. The curative virtue of mineral and thermal springs was well known to the ancients, and it would be interesting, if it were possible, to trace the causes which have gradually eliminated the superstitious element from the use of such waters, and so converted many old seats of volcanic religion into the medicinal baths of modern times. It was an article of Greek faith that all hot springs were sacred to Hercules. "Who ever heard of cold baths that

were sacred to Hercules? ” asks Injustice in Aristophanes, and Justice admits that the brawny hero's patronage of hot baths was the excuse alleged by young men for sprawling all day in the steaming water when they ought to have been sweating in the gymnasium. Hot springs were said to have been first produced for the refreshment of Hercules after his labours, some ascribed the kindly thought and deed to Athena, others to Hephaestus, and others to the nymphs. The warm water of these sources appears to have been used especially to heal diseases of the skin, for a Greek proverb, “the itch of Hercules,” was applied to persons in need of hot baths for the scab. On the strength of his connexion with medicinal springs Hercules set up as a patron of the healing art. In heaven, if we can trust Lucian, he even refused to give place to Aesculapius himself, and the difference between the two deities led to a very unseemly brawl. “Do you mean to say,” demanded Hercules of his father Zeus, in a burst of indignation, “that this apothecary is to sit down to table before me? ” To this the apothecary replied with much acrimony, recalling certain painful episodes in the private life of the burly hero. Finally the dispute was settled by Zeus, who decided in favour of Aesculapius on the ground that he died before Hercules, and was therefore entitled to rank as senior god.

Among the hot springs sacred to Hercules the most famous were those which rose in the pass of Thermopylae, and gave to the defile its name of the Hot Gates. The warm baths, called by the natives “the Pots,” were enlarged and improved for the use of invalids by the wealthy sophist Herodes Atticus in the second century of our era. An altar of Hercules stood beside them. According to one story, the hot springs were here produced for his refreshment by the goddess Athena. They exist to this day apparently unchanged, although the recession of the sea has converted what used to be a narrow pass into a wide,

swampy flat, through which the broad but shallow, turbid stream of the Sperchius creeps sluggishly seaward. On the other side the rugged mountains descend in crags and precipices to the pass, their grey rocky sides tufted with low wood or bushes wherever vegetation can find a foothold, and their summits fringed along the sky-line with pines. They remind a Scotchman of the "crags, knolls, and mounds confusedly hurled" in which Ben Venue comes down to the Silver Strand of Loch Katrine. The principal spring bursts from the rocks just at the foot of the steepest and loftiest part of the range. After forming a small pool it flows in a rapid stream eastward, skirting the foot of the mountains. The water is so hot that it is almost painful to hold the hands in it, at least near the source, and steam rises thickly from its surface along the course of the brook. Indeed the clouds of white steam and the strong sulphurous smell acquaint the traveller with his approach to the famous spot before he comes in sight of the springs. The water is clear, but has the appearance of being of a deep sea-blue or sea-green colour. This appearance it takes from the thick, slimy deposits of blue-green sulphur which line the bed of the stream. From its source the blue, steaming, sulphur-reeking brook rushes eastward for a few hundred yards at the foot of the mountain, and is then joined by the water of another spring, which rises much more tranquilly in a sort of natural bath among the rocks. The sides of this bath are not so thickly coated with sulphur as the banks of the stream, hence its water, about two feet deep, is not so blue. Just beyond it there is a second and larger bath, which, from its square shape and smooth sides, would seem to be in part artificial. These two baths are probably the Pots mentioned by ancient writers. They are still used by bathers, and a few wooden dressing-rooms are provided for the accommodation of visitors. Some of the water is conducted in an artificial channel to turn a mill about

half a mile off at the eastern end of the pass. The rest crosses the flat to find its way to the sea. In its passage it has coated the swampy ground with a white crust, which sounds hollow under the tread.

We may conjecture that these remarkable springs furnished the principal reason for associating Hercules with this district, and for laying the scene of his fiery death on the top of the neighbouring Mount Oeta. The district is volcanic, and has often been shaken by earthquakes. Across the strait the island of Euboea has suffered from the same cause and at the same time, and on its southern shore sulphurous springs, like those of Thermopylae, but much hotter and more powerful, were in like manner dedicated to Hercules. The strong medicinal qualities of the waters, which are especially adapted for the cure of skin diseases and gout, have attracted patients in ancient and modern times. Sulla took the waters here for his gout, and in the days of Plutarch the neighbouring town of Aedepsus, situated in a green valley about two miles from the springs, was one of the most fashionable resorts of Greece. Elegant and commodious buildings, an agreeable country, and abundance of fish and game united with the health-giving properties of the baths to draw crowds of idlers to the place, especially in the prime of the glorious Greek spring, the height of the season at Aedepsus. While some watched the dancers dancing or listened to the strains of the harp, others passed the time in discourse, lounging in the shade of cloisters or pacing the shore of the beautiful strait with its prospect of mountains beyond mountains immortalized in story across the water. Of all this Greek elegance and luxury hardly a vestige remains. Yet the healing springs flow now as freely as of old. In the course of time the white and yellow calcareous deposit which the water leaves behind it has formed a hillock at the foot of the mountains, and the stream now falls in a streaming cascade from the face of the rock into the sea. Once, after

an earthquake, the springs ceased to flow for three days, and at the same time the hot springs of Thermopylae dried up. The incident proves the relation of these Baths of Hercules on both sides of the strait to each other and to volcanic agency. On another occasion a cold spring suddenly burst out beside the hot springs of Aedepsus, and as its water was supposed to be peculiarly beneficial to health, patients hastened from far and near to drink of it. But the generals of King Antigonos, anxious to raise a revenue, imposed a tax on the use of the water, and the spring, as if in disgust at being turned to so base a use, disappeared as suddenly as it had come.

The association of Hercules with hot springs was not confined to Greece itself. Greek influence extended it to Sicily, Italy, and even to Dacia. Why the hero should have been chosen as the patron of thermal waters it is hard to say. Yet it is worth while, perhaps, to remember that such springs combine in a manner the twofold and seemingly discordant principles of water and fire, of fertility and destruction, and that the death of Hercules in the flames seems to connect him with the fiery element. Further, the apparent conflict of the two principles is by no means as absolute as at first sight we might be tempted to suppose, for heat is as necessary as moisture to the support of animal and vegetable life. Even volcanic fires have their beneficent aspect, since their products lend a more generous flavour to the juice of the grape. The ancients themselves, as we have seen, perceived the connexion between good wine and volcanic soil, and proposed more or less seriously to interpret the vine-god Dionysus as a child of the fire. As a patron of hot springs Hercules combined the genial elements of heat and moisture, and may therefore have stood, in one of his many aspects, for the principle of fertility.

In Syria childless women still resort to hot springs in order to procure offspring from the saint or the jinnee of the waters. This, for example, they do

at the famous hot springs in the land of Moab which flow through a wild gorge into the Dead Sea. In antiquity the springs went by the Greek name of Callirrhoe, the Fair-flowing. It was to them that the dying Herod, weighed down by a complication of disorders which the pious Jews traced to God's vengeance, repaired in the vain hope of arresting or mitigating the fatal progress of disease. The healing waters brought no alleviation of his sufferings, and he retired to Jericho to die. The hot springs burst in various places from the sides of a deep romantic ravine to form a large and rapid stream of lukewarm water, which rushes down the depths of the lynn, dashing and foaming over boulders, under the dense shade of tamarisk-trees and cane-brakes, the rocks on either bank draped with an emerald fringe of maidenhair fern. One of the springs falls from a high rocky shelf over the face of a cliff which is tinted bright yellow by the sulphurous water. The lofty crags which shut in the narrow chasm are bold and imposing in outline and varied in colour, for they range from red sandstone through white and yellow limestone to black basalt. The waters issue from the line where the sandstone and limestone meet. Their temperature is high, and from great clefts in the mountain-sides you may see clouds of steam rising and hear the rumbling of the running waters. The bottom of the glen is clothed and half choked with rank vegetation, for, situated far below the level of the sea, the hot ravine is almost African in climate and flora. Here grow dense thickets of canes with their feathery tufts that shake and nod in every passing breath of wind. Here the oleander flourishes with its dark-green glossy foliage and its beautiful pink blossoms. Here tall date-palms rear their stately heads wherever the hot springs flow. Gorgeous flowers, too, carpet the ground. Splendid orobanches, some pinkish purple, some bright yellow, grow in large tufts, each flower-stalk more than three feet high, and covered with blossoms

from the ground upwards. An exquisite rose-coloured geranium abounds among the stones, and where the soil is a little richer than usual it is a mass of the night-scented stock, while the crannies of the rocks are gay with scarlet ranunculus and masses of sorrel and cyclamen. Over all this luxuriant vegetation flit great butterflies of brilliant hues. Looking down the far-stretching gorge to its mouth you see in the distance the purple hills of Judah framed between walls of black basaltic columns on the one side and of bright red sandstone on the other.

Every year in the months of April and May the Arabs resort in crowds to the glen to benefit by the waters. They take up their quarters in huts made of the reeds which they cut in the thickets. They bathe in the steaming water, or allow it to splash on their bodies as it gushes in a powerful jet from a crevice in the rocks. But before they indulge in these ablutions, the visitors, both Moslem and Christian, propitiate the spirit or genius of the place by sacrificing a sheep or goat at the spring and allowing its red blood to tinge the water. Then they bathe in what they call the Baths of Solomon. Legend runs that Solomon the Wise made his bathing-place here, and in order to keep the water always warm he commanded the jinn never to let the fire die down. The jinn obey his orders to this day, but sometimes they slacken their efforts, and then the water runs low and cool. When the bathers perceive that, they say, "O Solomon, bring green wood, dry wood," and no sooner have they said so than the water begins to gurgle and steam as before. Sick people tell the saint or sheikh, who lives invisible in the springs, all about their ailments, they point out to him the precise spot that is the seat of the malady, it may be the back, or the head, or the legs, and if the heat of the water diminishes, they call out, "Thy bath is cold, O sheikh, thy bath is cold!" whereupon the obliging sheikh stokes up the fire, and out comes the water boiling.

But if in spite of their remonstrances the temperature of the spring continues low, they say that the sheikh has gone on pilgrimage, and they shout to him to hasten his return. Barren Moslem women also visit these hot springs to obtain children, and they do the same at the similar baths near Kerak. At the latter place a childless woman has been known to address the spirit of the waters saying, "O sheikh Solomon, I am not yet an old woman, give me children." The respect thus paid by Arab men and women to the sheikh Solomon at his hot springs may help us to understand the worship which at similar spots Greek men and women used to render to the hero Hercules. As the ideal of manly strength he may have been deemed the father of many of his worshippers, and Greek wives may have gone on pilgrimage to his steaming waters in order to obtain the wish of their hearts.

§ 8 *The Worship of Volcanoes in other Lands*

How far these considerations may serve to explain the custom of burning Hercules, or gods identified with him, in effigy or in the person of a human being, is a question which deserves to be considered. It might be more easily answered if we were better acquainted with analogous customs in other parts of the world, but our information with regard to the worship of volcanic phenomena in general appears to be very scanty. However, a few facts may be noted.

The largest active crater in the world is Kirauea in Hawaii. It is a huge cauldron, several miles in circumference and hundreds of feet deep, the bottom of which is filled with boiling lava in a state of terrific ebullition, from the red surge rise many black cones or insulated craters belching columns of grey smoke or pyramids of brilliant flame from their roaring mouths, while torrents of blazing lava roll down their sides to flow into the molten, tossing sea of fire below.

The scene is especially impressive by night, when flames of sulphurous blue or metallic red sweep across the heaving billows of the infernal lake, casting a broad glare on the jagged sides of the insulated craters, which shoot up eddying streams of fire with a continuous roar, varied at frequent intervals by loud detonations, as spherical masses of fusing lava or bright ignited stones are hurled into the air. It is no wonder that so appalling a spectacle should have impressed the imagination of the natives and filled it with ideas of the dreadful beings who inhabit the fiery abyss. They considered the great crater, we are told, as the *primaeval* abode of their volcanic deities—the black cones that rise like islands from the burning lake appeared to them the houses where the gods often amused themselves by playing at draughts—the roaring of the furnaces and the crackling of the flames were the music of their dance, and the red flaming surge was the surf wherein they played, sportively swimming on the rolling wave.

For these fearful divinities they had appropriate names; one was the King of Steam or Vapour, another the Rain of Night, another the Husband of Thunder, another the Child of War with a Spear of Fire, another the Fiery-eyed Canoe-breaker, another the Red-hot Mountain holding or lifting Clouds, and so on. But above them all was the great goddess *Pélé*. All were dreaded—they never journeyed on errands of mercy but only to receive offerings or to execute vengeance, and their arrival in any place was announced by the convulsive trembling of the earth, by the lurid light of volcanic eruption, by the flash of lightning, and the clap of thunder. The whole island was bound to pay them tribute or support their temples and devotees, and whenever the chiefs or people failed to send the proper offerings, or incurred their displeasure by insulting them or their priests or breaking the taboos which should be observed round about the craters, they filled the huge

cauldron on the top of Kirauea with molten lava, and spouted the fiery liquid on the surrounding country, or they would march to some of their other houses, which mortals call craters, in the neighbourhood of the sinners, and rushing forth in a river or column of fire overwhelm the guilty. If fishermen did not bring them enough fish from the sea, they would go down, kill all the fish, fill the shoals with lava, and so destroy the fishing-grounds. Hence, when the volcano was in active eruption or threatened to break out, the people used to cast vast numbers of hogs, alive or dead, into the craters or into the rolling torrent of lava in order to appease the gods and arrest the progress of the fiery stream. To pluck certain sacred berries, which grow on the mountain, to dig sand on its slopes, or to throw stones into the crater were acts particularly offensive to the deities, who would instantly rise in volumes of smoke, crush the offender under a shower of stones, or so involve him in thick darkness and rain that he could never find his way home. However, it was lawful to pluck and eat of the sacred berries, if only a portion of them were first offered to the goddess Pélé. The offerer would take a branch laden with clusters of the beautiful red and yellow berries, and standing on the edge of the abyss and looking towards the place where the smoke rose in densest volumes, he would say, "Pélé, here are your berries. I offer some to you, some I also eat." With that he would throw some of the berries into the crater and eat the rest. A kind of brittle volcanic glass, of a dark olive colour and semi-transparent, is found on the mountain in the shape of filaments as fine as human hair, the natives call it the hair of the goddess Pélé. Worshippers used to cast locks of their own hair into the crater of Kirauea as an offering to the dreadful goddess who dwelt in it. She had also a temple at the bottom of a valley, where stood a number of rude stone idols wrapt in white and yellow cloth. Once a year the priests and devotees of Pélé

assembled there to perform certain rites and to feast on hogs, dogs, and fruit, which the pious inhabitants of Hamakua brought to the holy place in great abundance. This annual festival was intended to propitiate the volcanic goddess and thereby to secure the country from earthquakes and floods of molten lava. The goddess of the volcano was supposed to inspire people, though to the carnal eye the inspiration resembled intoxication. One of these inspired priestesses solemnly affirmed to an English missionary that she was the goddess Pélé herself and as such immortal. Assuming a haughty air, she said, "I am Pélé, I shall never die, and those who follow me, when they die, if part of their bones be taken to Kirauea (the name of the volcano), will live with me in the bright fires there." For "the worshippers of Pélé threw a part of bones of their dead into the volcano, under the impression that the spirits of the deceased would then be admitted to the society of the volcanic deities, and that their influence would preserve the survivors from the ravages of volcanic fire."

This last belief may help to explain a custom, which some peoples have observed, of throwing human victims into volcanoes. The intention of such a practice need not be simply to appease the dreadful volcanic spirits by ministering to their fiendish lust of cruelty, there may also be a notion that the souls of the men or women who have been burnt to death in the crater will join the host of demons in the fiery furnace, mitigate their fury, and induce them to spare the works and the life of man. But, however we may explain the custom, it has been usual in various parts of the world to throw human beings as well as less precious offerings into the craters of active volcanoes. Thus the Indians of Nicaragua used to sacrifice men, women, and children to the active volcano Massaya, flinging them into the craters. We are told that the victims went willingly to their fate. In the island of Siao, to the north of Celebes, a child was formerly

sacrificed every year in order to keep the volcano Goowoong Awo quiet. The poor wretch was tortured to death at a festival which lasted nine days. In later times the place of the child has been taken by a wooden puppet, which is hacked to pieces in the same way. The Galelareese of Halmahera say that the Sultan of Ternate used annually to require some human victims, who were cast into the crater of the volcano to save the island from its ravages. In Java the volcano Bromo or Bromok is annually worshipped by people who throw offerings of coco-nuts, plantains, mangoes, rice, chickens, cakes, cloth, money, and so forth into the crater. To the Tenggereese, an aboriginal heathen tribe inhabiting the mountains of which Bromo is the central crater, the festival of making offerings to the volcano is the greatest of the year. It is held at full moon in the twelfth month, the day being fixed by the high priest. Each household prepares its offerings the night before. Very early in the morning the people set out by moonlight for Mount Bromo, men, women, and children all arrayed in their best. Before they reach the mountain they must cross a wide sandy plain, where the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell until by means of the Festival of the Dead they obtain admittance to the volcano. It is a remarkable sight to see thousands of people streaming across the level sands from three different directions. They have to descend into it from the neighbouring heights, and the horses break into a gallop when, after the steep descent, they reach the level. The gay and varied colours of the dresses, the fantastic costumes of the priests, the offerings borne along, the whole lit up by the warm beams of the rising sun, lend to the spectacle a peculiar charm. All assemble at the foot of the crater, where a market is held for offerings and refreshments. The scene is a lively one, for hundreds of people must now pay the vows which they made during the year. The priests sit in a long row on mats, and when the high priest

appears the people pray, saying, "Bromo, we thank thee for all thy gifts and benefits with which thou ever blestest us, and for which we offer thee our thank-offerings to day. Bless us, our children, and our children's children." The prayers over, the high priest gives a signal, and the whole multitude arises and climbs the mountain. On reaching the edge of the crater, the pontiff again blesses the offerings of food, clothes, and money, which are then thrown into the crater. Yet few of them reach the spirits for whom they are intended, for a swarm of urchins now scrambles down into the crater, and at more or less risk to life and limb succeeds in appropriating the greater part of the offerings. The spirits, defrauded of their dues, must take the will for the deed. Tradition says that once in a time of dearth a chief vowed to sacrifice one of his children to the volcano, if the mountain would bless the people with plenty of food. His prayer was answered, and he paid his vow by casting his youngest son as a thank-offering into the crater.

On the slope of Mount Smeroe, another active volcano in Java, there are two small idols, which the natives worship and pray to when they ascend the mountain. They lay food before the images to obtain the favour of the god of the volcano. In antiquity people cast into the craters of Etna vessels of gold and silver and all kinds of victims. If the fire swallowed up the offerings, the omen was good, but if it rejected them, some evil was sure to befall the offerer.

These examples suggest that a custom of burning men or images may possibly be derived from a practice of throwing them into the craters of active volcanoes in order to appease the dreaded spirits or gods who dwell there. But unless we reckon the fires of Mount Argæus in Cappadocia and of Mount Chimaera in Lycia, there is apparently no record of any mountain in Western Asia which has been in

eruption within historical times On the whole, then, we conclude that the Asiatic custom of burning kings or gods was probably in no way connected with volcanic phenomena Yet it was perhaps worth while to raise the question of the connexion, even though it has received only a negative answer The whole subject of the influence which physical environment has exercised on the history of religion deserves to be studied with more attention than it has yet received.¹

¹ In the foregoing discussion I have confined myself, so far as concerns Asia, to the volcanic regions of Cappadocia, Lydia, and Caria But Syria and Palestine, the home of Adonis and Melcarth, "abound in volcanic appearances, and very extensive areas have been shaken, at different periods, with great destruction of cities and loss of lives Continual mention is made in history of the ravages committed by earthquakes in Sidon, Tyre, Berytus, Laodicea, and Antioch, and in the island of Cyprus The country around the Dead Sea exhibits in some spots layers of sulphur and bitumen, forming a superficial deposit, supposed by Mr Tristram to be of volcanic origin" (Sir Ch Lyell, *Principles of Geology*,¹² 1 592 sq) It is said that in the reign of the Emperor Justin the city of Antioch was totally destroyed by a dreadful earthquake, in which three hundred thousand people perished (Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, 11 14) The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis xix 24-28) has been plausibly explained as the effect of an earthquake liberating large quantities of petroleum and inflammable gases See H B Tristram, *The Land of Israel*, Fourth Edition (London, 1882), pp 350-354, S R Driver, *The Book of Genesis*⁴ (London, 1905), pp 202 sq

CHAPTER IX

THE RITUAL OF ADONIS

THUS far we have dealt with the myth of Adonis and the legends which associated him with Byblus and Paphos. A discussion of these legends led us to the conclusion that among Semitic peoples in early times, Adonis, the divine lord of the city, was often personated by priestly kings or other members of the royal family, and that these his human representatives were of old put to death, whether periodically or occasionally, in their divine character. Further, we found that certain traditions and monuments of Asia Minor seem to preserve traces of a similar practice. As time went on, the cruel custom was apparently mitigated in various ways, for example, by substituting an effigy or an animal for the man, or by allowing the destined victim to escape with a merely make-believe sacrifice. The evidence of all this is drawn from a variety of scattered and often ambiguous indications: it is fragmentary, it is uncertain, and the conclusions built upon it inevitably partake of the weakness of the foundation. Where the records are so imperfect, as they happen to be in this branch of our subject, the element of hypothesis must enter largely into any attempt to piece together and interpret the disjointed facts. How far the interpretations here proposed are sound, I leave to future inquiries to determine.

From dim regions of the past, where we have had to grope our way with small help from the lamp of history, it is a relief to pass to those later periods of classical antiquity on which contemporary Greek

writers have shed the light of their clear intelligence To them we owe almost all that we know for certain about the rites of Adonis The Semites who practised the worship have said little about it, at all events little that they said has come down to us Accordingly, the following account of the ritual is derived mainly from Greek authors who saw what they describe, and it applies to ages in which the growth of humane feeling had softened some of the harsher features of the worship.

At the festivals of Adonis, which were held in Western Asia and in Greek lands, the death of the god was annually mourned, with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women, images of him, dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to burial and then thrown into the sea or into springs, and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day But at different places the ceremonies varied somewhat in the manner and apparently also in the season of their celebration At Alexandria images of Aphrodite and Adonis were displayed on two couches, beside them were set ripe fruits of all kinds, cakes, plants growing in flower-pots, and green bowers twined with anise The marriage of the lovers was celebrated one day, and on the morrow women attired as mourners, with streaming hair and bared breasts, bore the image of the dead Adonis to the sea-shore and committed it to the waves Yet they sorrowed not without hope, for they sang that the lost one would come back again The date at which this Alexandrian ceremony was observed is not expressly stated, but from the mention of the ripe fruits it has been inferred that it took place in late summer In the great Phœnician sanctuary of Astarte at Byblus the death of Adonis was annually mourned, to the shrill wailing notes of the flute, with weeping, lamentation, and beating of the breast, but next day he was believed to come to life again and ascend to heaven in the presence of his worshippers The disconsolate believers, left behind

on earth, shaved their heads as the Egyptians did on the death of the divine bull Apis, women who could not bring themselves to sacrifice their beautiful tresses had to give themselves up to strangers on a certain day of the festival, and to dedicate to Astarte the wages of their shame

This Phœnician festival appears to have been a vernal one, for its date was determined by the discoloration of the river Adonis, and this has been observed by modern travellers to occur in spring. At that season the red earth washed down from the mountains by the rain tinges the water of the river, and even the sea, for a great way with a blood-red hue, and the crimson stain was believed to be the blood of Adonis, annually wounded to death by the boar on Mount Lebanon. Again, the scarlet anemone is said to have sprung from the blood of Adonis, or to have been stained by it, and as the anemone blooms in Syria about Easter, this may be thought to show that the festival of Adonis, or at least one of his festivals was held in spring. The name of the flower is probably derived from Naaman ("darling"), which seems to have been an epithet of Adonis. The Arabs still call the anemone "wounds of the Naaman." The red rose also was said to owe its hue to the same sad occasion, for Aphrodite, hastening to her wounded lover, trod on a bush of white roses, the cruel thorns tore her slender flesh, and her sacred blood dyed the white roses for ever red. It would be idle, perhaps, to lay much weight on evidence drawn from the calendar of flowers, and in particular to press an argument so fragile as the bloom of the rose. Yet so far as it counts at all, the tale which links the damask rose with the death of Adonis points to a summer rather than to a spring celebration of his passion. In Attica, certainly, the festival fell at the height of summer. For the fleet which Athens fitted out against Syracuse, and by the destruction of which her power was permanently crippled, sailed at midsummer, and

by an ominous coincidence the sombre rites of Adonis were being celebrated at the very time. As the troops marched down to the harbour to embark, the streets through which they passed were lined with coffins and corpse-like effigies, and the air was rent with the noise of women wailing for the dead Adonis. The circumstance cast a gloom over the sailing of the most splendid armament that Athens ever sent to sea. Many ages afterwards, when the Emperor Julian made his first entry into Antioch, he found in like manner the gay, the luxurious capital of the East plunged in mimic grief for the annual death of Adonis. and if he had any presentiment of coming evil, the voices of lamentation which struck upon his ear must have seemed to sound his knell.

The resemblance of these ceremonies to the Indian and European ceremonies which I have described elsewhere is obvious. In particular, apart from the somewhat doubtful date of its celebration, the Alexandrian ceremony is almost identical with the Indian. In both of them the marriage of two divine beings, whose affinity with vegetation seems indicated by the fresh plants with which they are surrounded, is celebrated in effigy, and the effigies are afterwards mourned over and thrown into the water. From the similarity of these customs to each other and to the spring and midsummer customs of modern Europe we should naturally expect that they all admit of a common explanation. Hence, if the explanation which I have adopted of the latter is correct, the ceremony of the death and resurrection of Adonis must also have been a dramatic representation of the decay and revival of plant life. The inference thus based on the resemblance of the customs is confirmed by the following features in the legend and ritual of Adonis. His affinity with vegetation comes out at once in the common story of his birth. He was said to have been born from a myrrh-tree, the bark of which bursting, after a ten months' gestation, allowed the lovely

infant to come forth. According to some, a boar rent the bark with his tusk and so opened a passage for the babe. A faint rationalistic colour was given to the legend by saying that his mother was a woman named Myrrh, who had been turned into a myrrh-tree soon after she had conceived the child. The use of myrrh as incense at the festival of Adonis may have given rise to the fable. We have seen that incense was burnt at the corresponding Babylonian rites, just as it was burnt by the idolatrous Hebrews in honour of the Queen of Heaven, who was no other than Astarte. Again, the story that Adonis spent half, or according to others a third, of the year in the lower world and the rest of it in the upper world, is explained most simply and naturally by supposing that he represented vegetation, especially the corn, which lies buried in the earth half the year and reappears above ground the other half. Certainly of the annual phenomena of nature there is none which suggests so obviously the idea of death and resurrection as the disappearance and reappearance of vegetation in autumn and spring. Adonis has been taken for the sun, but there is nothing in the sun's annual course within the temperate and tropical zones to suggest that he is dead for half or a third of the year and alive for the other half or two-thirds. He might, indeed, be conceived as weakened in winter, but dead he could not be thought to be, his daily reappearance contradicts the supposition. Within the Arctic Circle, where the sun annually disappears for a continuous period which varies from twenty-four hours to six months according to the latitude, his yearly death and resurrection would certainly be an obvious idea, but no one except the unfortunate astronomer Bailly has maintained that the Adonis worship came from the Arctic regions. On the other hand, the annual death and revival of vegetation is a conception which readily presents itself to men in every stage of savagery and civilization, and the vastness of the scale on which

this ever-recurring decay and regeneration takes place, together with man's intimate dependence on it for subsistence, combine to render it the most impressive annual occurrence in nature, at least within the temperate zones. It is no wonder that a phenomenon so important, so striking, and so universal should, by suggesting similar ideas, have given rise to similar rites in many lands. We may, therefore, accept as probable an explanation of the Adonis worship which accords so well with the facts of nature and with the analogy of similar rites in other lands. Moreover, the explanation is countenanced by a considerable body of opinion amongst the ancients themselves, who again and again interpreted the dying and reviving god as the reaped and sprouting grain.

The character of Tammuz or Adonis as a corn-spirit comes out plainly in an account of his festival given by an Arabic writer of the tenth century. In describing the rites and sacrifices observed at the different seasons of the year by the heathen Syrians of Harran, he says "Tammuz (July). In the middle of this month is the festival of el-Bûgât, that is, of the weeping women, and this is the Tâ-uz festival, which is celebrated in honour of the god Tâ-uz. The women bewail him, because his lord slew him so cruelly, ground his bones in a mill, and then scattered them to the wind. The women (during this festival) eat nothing which has been ground in a mill, but limit their diet to steeped wheat, sweet vetches, dates, raisins, and the like." Tâ-uz, who is no other than Tammuz, is here like Burns's John Barleycorn—

*" They wasted o'er a scorching flame
The marrow of his bones,
But a miller us'd him worst of all—
For he crush'd him between two stones "*

This concentration, so to say, of the nature of Adonis upon the cereal crops is characteristic of the stage of culture reached by his worshippers in historical

times They had left the nomadic life of the wandering hunter and herdsman far behind them, for ages they had been settled on the land, and had depended for their subsistence mainly on the products of tillage. The berries and roots of the wilderness, the grass of the pastures, which had been matters of vital importance to their ruder forefathers, were now of little moment to them. more and more their thoughts and energies were engrossed by the staple of their life, the corn, more and more accordingly the propitiation of the deities of fertility in general and of the corn-spirit in particular tended to become the central feature of their religion. The aim they set before themselves in celebrating the rites was thoroughly practical. It was no vague poetical sentiment which prompted them to hail with joy the rebirth of vegetation and to mourn its decline. Hunger, felt or feared, was the mainspring of the worship of Adonis.

It has been suggested by Father Lagrange that the mourning for Adonis was essentially a harvest rite designed to propitiate the corn-god, who was then either perishing under the sickles of the reapers, or being trodden to death under the hoofs of the oxen on the threshing-floor. While the men slew him, the women wept crocodile tears at home to appease his natural indignation by a show of grief for his death. The theory fits in well with the dates of the festivals, which fell in spring or summer, for spring and summer, not autumn, are the seasons of the barley and wheat harvests in the lands which worshipped Adonis. Further, the hypothesis is confirmed by the practice of the Egyptian reapers, who lamented, calling upon Isis, when they cut the first corn, and it is recommended by the analogous customs of many hunting tribes, who testify great respect for the animals which they kill and eat.

Thus interpreted the death of Adonis is not the natural decay of vegetation in general under the summer heat or the winter cold, it is the violent

destruction of the corn by man, who cuts it down on the field, stamps it to pieces on the threshing-floor, and grinds it to powder in the mill. That this was indeed the principal aspect in which Adonis presented himself in later times to the agricultural peoples of the Levant, may be admitted, but whether from the beginning he had been the corn and nothing but the corn, may be doubted. At an earlier period he may have been to the herdsmen, above all, the tender herbage which sprouts after rain, offering rich pasture to the lean and hungry cattle. Earlier still he may have embodied the spirit of the nuts and berries which the autumn woods yield to the savage hunter and his squaw. And just as the husbandman must propitiate the spirit of the corn which he consumes, so the herdsman must appease the spirit of the grass and leaves which his cattle munch, and the hunter must soothe the spirit of the roots which he digs, and of the fruits which he gathers from the bough. In all cases the propitiation of the injured and angry sprite would naturally comprise elaborate excuses and apologies, accompanied by loud lamentations at his decease whenever, through some deplorable accident or necessity, he happened to be murdered as well as robbed. Only we must bear in mind that the savage hunter and herdsman of those early days had probably not yet attained to the abstract idea of vegetation in general, and that accordingly, so far as Adonis existed for them at all, he must have been the *Adon* or lord of each individual tree and plant rather than a personification of vegetable life as a whole. Thus there would be as many Adonises as there were trees and shrubs, and each of them might expect to receive satisfaction for any damage done to his person or property. And year by year, when the trees were deciduous, every Adonis would seem to bleed to death with the red leaves of autumn and to come to life again with the fresh green of spring.

We have seen reason to think that in early times

Adonis was sometimes personated by a living man who died a violent death in the character of the god. Further, there is evidence which goes to show that among the agricultural peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean, the corn-spirit, by whatever name he was known, was often represented, year by year, by human victims slain on the harvest-field. If that was so, it seems likely that the propitiation of the corn-spirit would tend to fuse to some extent with the worship of the dead. For the spirits of these victims might be thought to return to life in the ears which they had fattened with their blood, and to die a second death at the reaping of the corn. Now the ghosts of those who have perished by violence are surly and apt to wreak their vengeance on their slayers whenever an opportunity offers. Hence the attempt to appease the souls of the slaughtered victims would naturally blend, at least in the popular conception, with the attempt to pacify the slain corn-spirit. And as the dead came back in the sprouting corn, so they might be thought to return in the spring flowers, waked from their long sleep by the soft vernal airs. They had been laid to their rest under the sod. What more natural than to imagine that the violets and the hyacinths, the roses and the anemones, sprang from their dust, were empurpled or incarnadined by their blood, and contained some portion of their spirit?

*" I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled ,
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears
Dropt in her Lap from some once lovely Head*

*" And this reviving Herb whose tender Green
Fledges the River-Lip on which we lean—
Ah, lean upon it lightly, for who knows
From what once lovely Lip it springs unseen ? "*

In the summer after the battle of Landen, the most sanguinary battle of the seventeenth century in

Europe, the earth, saturated with the blood of twenty thousand slain, broke forth into millions of poppies, and the traveller who passed that vast sheet of scarlet might well fancy that the earth had indeed given up her dead. At Athens the great Commemoration of the Dead fell in spring about the middle of March, when the early flowers are in bloom. Then the dead were believed to rise from their graves and go about the streets, vainly endeavouring to enter the temples and the dwellings, which were barred against these perturbed spirits with ropes, buckthorn, and pitch. The name of the festival, according to the most obvious and natural interpretation, means the Festival of Flowers, and the title would fit well with the substance of the ceremonies if at that season the poor ghosts were indeed thought to creep from the narrow house with the opening flowers. There may therefore be a measure of truth in the theory of Renan, who saw in the Adonis worship a dreamy voluptuous cult of death, conceived not as the King of Terrors, but as an insidious enchanter who lures his victims to himself and lulls them into an eternal sleep. The infinite charm of nature in the Lebanon, he thought, lends itself to religious emotions of this sensuous, visionary sort, hovering vaguely between pain and pleasure, between slumber and tears. It would doubtless be a mistake to attribute to Syrian peasants the worship of a conception so purely abstract as that of death in general. Yet it may be true that in their simple minds the thought of the reviving spirit of vegetation was blent with the very concrete notion of the ghosts of the dead, who come to life again in spring days with the early flowers, with the tender green of the corn and the many-tinted blossoms of the trees. Thus their views of the death and resurrection of nature would be coloured by their views of the death and resurrection of man, by their personal sorrows and hopes and fears. In like manner we cannot doubt that Renan's theory of Adonis was itself deeply tinged by passionate

memories, memories of the slumber akin to death which
sealed his own eyes on the slopes of the Lebanon,
memories of the sister who sleeps in the land of
Adonis never again to wake with the anemones and
the roses

CHAPTER X

THE GARDENS OF ADONIS

PERHAPS the best proof that Adonis was a deity of vegetation, and especially of the corn, is furnished by the gardens of Adonis, as they were called. These were baskets or pots filled with earth, in which wheat, barley, lettuces, fennel, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended for eight days, chiefly or exclusively by women. Fostered by the sun's heat, the plants shot up rapidly, but having no root they withered as rapidly away, and at the end of eight days were carried out with the images of the dead Adonis, and flung with them into the sea or into springs.

These gardens of Adonis are most naturally interpreted as representatives of Adonis or manifestations of his power, they represented him, true to his original nature, in vegetable form, while the images of him, with which they were carried out and cast into the water, portrayed him in his later human shape. All these Adonis ceremonies, if I am right, were originally intended as charms to promote the growth or revival of vegetation, and the principle by which they were supposed to produce this effect was homoeopathic or imitative magic. For ignorant people suppose that by mimicking the effect which they desire to produce they actually help to produce it, thus by sprinkling water they make rain, by lighting a fire they make sunshine, and so on. Similarly, by mimicking the growth of crops they hope to ensure a good harvest. The rapid growth of the wheat and barley in the gardens of Adonis was intended to make the corn shoot up, and the throwing of the gardens and of the

images into the water was a charm to secure a due supply of fertilizing rain. The same, I take it, was the object of throwing the effigies of Death and the Carnival into water in the corresponding ceremonies of modern Europe. Certainly the custom of drenching with water a leaf-clad person, who undoubtedly personifies vegetation, is still resorted to in Europe for the express purpose of producing rain. Similarly the custom of throwing water on the last corn cut at harvest, or on the person who brings it home (a custom observed in Germany and France, and till quite lately in England and Scotland), is in some places practised with the avowed intent to procure rain for the next year's crops. Thus in Wallachia and amongst the Roumanians in Transylvania, when a girl is bringing home a crown made of the last ears of corn cut at harvest, all who meet her hasten to throw water on her, and two farm-servants are placed at the door for the purpose, for they believe that if this were not done, the crops next year would perish from drought. So amongst the Saxons of Transylvania, the person who wears the wreath made of the last corn cut is drenched with water to the skin, for the wetter he is, the better will be next year's harvest, and the more grain there will be threshed out. Sometimes the wearer of the wreath is the reaper who cut the last corn. In Northern Euboea, when the corn-sheaves have been piled in a stack, the farmer's wife brings a pitcher of water and offers it to each of the labourers that he may wash his hands. Every man, after he has washed his hands, sprinkles water on the corn and on the threshing-floor, expressing at the same time a wish that the corn may last long. Lastly, the farmer's wife holds the pitcher slantingly and runs at full speed round the stack without spilling a drop, while she utters a wish that the stack may endure as long as the circle she has just described. At the spring ploughing in Prussia, when the ploughmen and sowers returned in the evening from their work in the fields, the farmer's

wife and the servants used to splash water over them. The ploughmen and sowers retorted by seizing every one, throwing them into the pond, and ducking them under the water. The farmer's wife might claim exemption on payment of a forfeit, but every one else had to be ducked. By observing this custom they hoped to ensure a due supply of rain for the seed. Also after harvest in Prussia, the person who wore a wreath made of the last corn cut was drenched with water, while a prayer was uttered that "as the corn had sprung up and multiplied through the water, so it might spring up and multiply in the barn and granary." At Schlanow, in Brandenburg, when the sowers return home from the first sowing they are drenched with water "in order that the corn may grow." In Anhalt on the same occasion the farmer is still often sprinkled with water by his family, and his men and horses, and even the plough, receive the same treatment. The object of the custom, as people at Arensdorf explained it, is "to wish fertility to the fields for the whole year." So in Hesse, when the ploughmen return with the plough from the field for the first time, the women and girls lie in wait for them and slyly drench them with water. Near Naaburg, in Bavaria, the man who first comes back from sowing or ploughing has a vessel of water thrown over him by some one in hiding. At Hettingen in Baden the farmer who is about to begin the sowing of oats is sprinkled with water, in order that the oats may not shrivel up. Before the Tusayan Indians of North America go out to plant their fields, the women sometimes pour water on them, the reason for doing so is that "as the water is poured on the men, so may water fall on the planted fields." The Indians of Santiago Tepehuacan steep the seed of the maize in water before they sow it, in order that the god of the waters may bestow on the fields the needed moisture.

The opinion that the gardens of Adonis are essentially charms to promote the growth of vegetation,

especially of the crops, and that they belong to the same class of customs as those spring and midsummer folk-customs of modern Europe which I have described elsewhere, does not rest for its evidence merely on the intrinsic probability of the case. Fortunately we are able to show that gardens of Adonis (if we may use the expression in a general sense) are still planted, first, by a primitive race at their sowing season, and, second, by European peasants at midsummer. Amongst the Oraons and Mundas of Bengal, when the time comes for planting out the rice which has been grown in seed-beds, a party of young people of both sexes go to the forest and cut a young Karma-tree, or the branch of one. Bearing it in triumph they return, dancing, singing, and beating drums, and plant it in the middle of the village dancing-ground. A sacrifice is offered to the tree, and next morning the youth of both sexes, linked arm-in-arm, dance in a great circle round the Karma-tree, which is decked with strips of coloured cloth and sham bracelets and necklets of plaited straw. As a preparation for the festival, the daughters of the headman of the village cultivate blades of barley in a peculiar way. The seed is sown in moist, sandy soil, mixed with turmeric, and the blades sprout and unfold of a pale-yellow or primrose colour. On the day of the festival the girls take up these blades and carry them in baskets to the dancing-ground, where, prostrating themselves reverentially, they place some of the plants before the Karma-tree. Finally, the Karma-tree is taken away and thrown into a stream or tank. The meaning of planting these barley blades and then presenting them to the Karma-tree is hardly open to question. Trees are supposed to exercise a quickening influence upon the growth of crops, and amongst the very people in question—the Mundas or Mundaris—"the grove deities are held responsible for the crops." Therefore, when at the season for planting out the rice the Mundas bring in a tree and treat it with so much respect, their object can only

be to foster thereby the growth of the rice which is about to be planted out, and the custom of causing barley blades to sprout rapidly and then presenting them to the tree must be intended to subserve the same purpose, perhaps by reminding the tree-spirit of his duty towards the crops, and stimulating his activity by this visible example of rapid vegetable growth. The throwing of the Karma-tree into the water is to be interpreted as a rain-charm. Whether the barley blades are also thrown into the water is not said, but if my interpretation of the custom is right, probably they are so. A distinction between this Bengal custom and the Greek rites of Adonis is that in the former the tree-spirit appears in his original form as a tree, whereas in the Adonis worship he appears in human form, represented as a dead man, though his vegetable nature is indicated by the gardens of Adonis, which are, so to say, a secondary manifestation of his original power as a tree-spirit.

Gardens of Adonis are cultivated also by the Hindoos, with the intention apparently of ensuring the fertility both of the earth and of mankind. Thus at Oodeypoor in Rajputana a festival is held "in honour of Gouri, or Isani, the goddess of abundance, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece. Like the Rajpoot Saturnalia, which it follows, it belongs to the vernal equinox, when nature in these regions proximate to the tropic is in the full expanse of her charms, and the matronly Gouri casts her golden mantle over the verdant Vassanti, personification of spring. Then the fruits exhibit their promise to the eye, the kohil fills the ear with melody, the air is impregnated with aroma, and the crimson poppy contrasts with the spikes of golden grain to form a wreath for the beneficent Gouri. Gouri is one of the names of Isa or Parvati, wife of the greatest of the gods, Mahadeo or Iswara, who is conjoined with her in these rites, which almost exclusively appertain to the women. The meaning of *gouri* is 'yellow,' emblematic of the ripened

harvest, when the votaries of the goddess adore her effigies, which are those of a matron painted the colour of ripe corn " The rites begin when the sun enters the sign of the Ram, the opening of the Hindoo year An image of the goddess Gouri is made of earth, and a smaller one of her husband Iswara, and the two are placed together A small trench is next dug, barley is sown in it, and the ground watered and heated artificially till the gram sprouts, when the women dance round it hand in hand, invoking the blessing of Gouri on their husbands After that the young corn is taken up and distributed by the women to the men, who wear it in their turbans Every wealthy family, or at least every subdivision of the city, has its own image These and other rites, known only to the initiated, occupy several days, and are performed within doors Then the images of the goddess and her husband are decorated and borne in procession to a beautiful lake, whose deep blue waters mirror the cloudless Indian sky, marble palaces, and orange groves Here the women, their hair decked with roses and jessamine, carry the image of Gouri down a marble staircase to the water's edge, and dance round it singing hymns and love-songs Meantime the goddess is supposed to bathe in the water No men take part in the ceremony, even the image of Iswara, the husband-god, attracts little attention In these rites the distribution of the barley shoots to the men, and the invocation of a blessing on their husbands by the wives, point clearly to the desire of offspring as one motive for observing the custom The same motive probably explains the use of gardens of Adonis at the marriage of Brahmans in the Madras Presidency Seeds of five or nine sorts are mixed and sown in earthen pots, which are made specially for the purpose and are filled with earth Bride and bridegroom water the seeds both morning and evening for four days, and on the fifth day the seedlings are thrown, like the real gardens of Adonis, into a tank or river

In the Himalayan districts of North-Western India the cultivators sow barley, maize, pulse, or mustard in a basket of earth on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month (*Asárh*), which falls about the middle of July. Then on the last day of the month they place amidst the new sprouts small clay images of Mahadeo and Parvati and worship them in remembrance of the marriage of those deities. Next day they cut down the green stalks and wear them in their head-dress. Similar is the barley feast known as *Jâyî* or *Jawâra* in Upper India and as *Bhujariya* in the Central Provinces. On the seventh day of the light half of the month *Sâwan* grains of barley are sown in a pot of manure, and spring up so quickly that by the end of the month the vessel is full of long, yellowish-green stalks. On the first day of the next month, *Bhâdon*, the women and girls take the stalks out, throw the earth and manure into water, and distribute the plants among their male friends, who bind them in their turbans and about their dress. At *Sargal* in the Central Provinces of India this ceremony is observed about the middle of September. None but women may take part in it, though crowds of men come to look on. Some little time before the festival wheat or other grain has been sown in pots ingeniously constructed of large leaves, which are held together by the thorns of a species of acacia. Having grown up in the dark, the stalks are of a pale colour. On the day appointed these gardens of *Adonis*, as we may call them, are carried towards a lake which abuts on the native city. The women of every family or circle of friends bring their own pots, and having laid them on the ground they dance round them. Then taking the pots of sprouting corn they descend to the edge of the water, wash the soil away from the pots, and distribute the young plants among their friends. At the temple of the goddess *Padmavati*, near *Pandharpur* in the Bombay Presidency, a *Nine Nights' festival* is held in the bright half of the month *Ashvin* (September-October). At this time

a bamboo frame is hung in front of the image, and from it depend garlands of flowers and strings of wheaten cakes. Under the frame the floor in front of the pedestal is strewn with a layer of earth in which wheat is sown and allowed to sprout. A similar rite is observed in the same month before the images of two other goddesses, Ambabai and Lakhubai, who also have temples at Pandharpur.

In some parts of Bavaria it is customary to sow flax in a pot on the last three days of the Carnival, from the seed which grows best an omen is drawn as to whether the early, the middle, or the late sowing will produce the best crop. In Sardinia the gardens of Adonis are still planted in connexion with the great Midsummer festival which bears the name of St. John. At the end of March or on the first of April a young man of the village presents himself to a girl, and asks her to be his *comare* (gossip or sweetheart), offering to be her *compare*. The invitation is considered as an honour by the girl's family, and is gladly accepted. At the end of May the girl makes a pot of the bark of the cork-tree, fills it with earth, and sows a handful of wheat and barley in it. The pot being placed in the sun and often watered, the corn sprouts rapidly and has a good head by Midsummer Eve (St. John's Eve, the twenty-third of June). The pot is then called *Erme* or *Nenneri*. On St. John's Day the young man and the girl, dressed in their best, accompanied by a long retinue and preceded by children gambolling and frolicking, move in procession to a church outside the village. Here they break the pot by throwing it against the door of the church. Then they sit down in a ring on the grass and eat eggs and herbs to the music of flutes. Wine is mixed in a cup and passed round, each one drinking as it passes. Then they join hands and sing "Sweethearts of St. John" (*Compare e comare di San Giovanni*) over and over again, the flutes playing the while. When they tire of singing they stand up and dance gaily in a ring till evening.

This is the general Sardinian custom As practised at Ozieri it has some special features In May the pots are made of cork-bark and planted with corn, as already described Then on the Eve of St John the window-sills are draped with rich cloths, on which the pots are placed, adorned with crimson and blue silk and ribbons of various colours On each of the pots they used formerly to place a statuette or cloth doll dressed as a woman, or a Priapus-like figure made of paste, but this custom, rigorously forbidden by the Church, has fallen into disuse The village swains go about in a troop to look at the pots and their decorations and to wait for the girls, who assemble on the public square to celebrate the festival Here a great bonfire is kindled, round which they dance and make merry Those who wish to be "Sweethearts of St. John" act as follows The young man stands on one side of the bonfire and the girl on the other, and they, in a manner, join hands by each grasping one end of a long stick, which they pass three times backwards and forwards across the fire, thus thrusting their hands thrice rapidly into the flames This seals their relationship to each other Dancing and music go on till late at night The correspondence of these Sardinian pots of grain to the gardens of Adonis seems complete, and the images formerly placed in them answer to the images of Adonis which accompanied his gardens

Customs of the same sort are observed at the same season in Sicily Pairs of boys and girls become gossips of St John on St John's Day by drawing each a hair from his or her head and performing various ceremonies over them Thus they tie the hairs together and throw them up in the air, or exchange them over a potsherd, which they afterwards break in two, preserving each a fragment with pious care The tie formed in the latter way is supposed to last for life In some parts of Sicily the gossips of St John present each other with plates of sprouting corn, lentils, and

canary seed, which have been planted forty days before the festival. The one who receives the plate pulls a stalk of the young plants, binds it with a ribbon, and preserves it among his or her greatest treasures, restoring the platter to the giver. At Catania the gossips exchange pots of basil and great cucumbers, the girls tend the basil, and the thicker it grows the more it is prized.

In these midsummer customs of Sardinia and Sicily it is possible that, as Mr R. Wunsch supposes, St. John has replaced Adonis. We have seen that the rites of Tammuz or Adonis were commonly celebrated about midsummer, according to Jerome, their date was June. And besides their date and their similarity in respect of the pots of herbs and corn, there is another point of affinity between the two festivals, the heathen and the Christian. In both of them water plays a prominent part. At his midsummer festival in Babylon the image of Tammuz, whose name is said to mean "true son of the deep water," was bathed with pure water. At his summer festival in Alexandria the image of Adonis, with that of his divine mistress Aphrodite, was committed to the waves, and at the midsummer celebration in Greece the gardens of Adonis were thrown into the sea or into springs. Now a great feature of the midsummer festival associated with the name of St. John is, or used to be, the custom of bathing in the sea, springs, rivers, or the dew on Midsummer Eve or the morning of Midsummer Day. Thus, for example, at Naples there is a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist under the name of St. John of the Sea (*S. Giovan a mare*), and it was an old practice for men and women to bathe in the sea on St. John's Eve, that is, on Midsummer Eve, believing that thus all their sins were washed away. In the Abruzzi water is still supposed to acquire certain marvellous and beneficent properties on St. John's Night. They say that on that night the sun and moon bathe in the water. Hence many people take a bath

in the sea or in a river at that season, especially at the moment of sunrise. At Castiglione a Casauria they go before sunrise to the Pescara River or to springs, wash their faces and hands, then gird themselves with twigs of bryony (*vitálba*) and twine the plant round their brows, in order that they may be free from pains. At Pescina boys and girls wash each other's faces in a river or a spring, then exchange kisses, and become gossips. The dew, also, that falls on St John's Night is supposed in the Abruzzi to benefit whatever it touches, whether it be water, flowers, or the human body. For that reason people put out vessels of water on the window-sills or the terraces, and wash themselves with the water in the morning in order to purify themselves and escape headaches and colds. A still more efficacious mode of accomplishing the same end is to rise at the peep of dawn, to wet the hands in the dewy grass, and then to rub the moisture on the eyelids, the brow, and the temples, because the dew is believed to cure maladies of the head and eyes. It is also a remedy for diseases of the skin. Persons who are thus afflicted should roll on the dewy grass. When patients are prevented by their infirmity or any other cause from quitting the house, their friends will gather the dew in sheets or tablecloths and so apply it to the suffering part. At Marsala in Sicily there is a spring of water in a subterranean grotto called the Grotto of the Sibyl. Beside it stands a church of St John, which has been supposed to occupy the site of a temple of Apollo. On St John's Eve, the twenty-third of June, women and girls visit the grotto, and by drinking of the prophetic water learn whether their husbands have been faithful to them in the year that is past, or whether they themselves will wed in the year that is to come. Sick people, too, imagine that by bathing in the water, drinking of it, or ducking thrice in it in the name of the Trinity, they will be made whole. At Chiamonte in Sicily the following custom is observed on St John's Eve. The men repair to one fountain

and the women to another, and dip their heads thrice in the water, repeating at each ablution certain verses in honour of St John. They believe that this is a cure or preventive of the scald. When Petrarch visited Cologne, he chanced to arrive in the town on St John's Eve. The sun was nearly setting, and his host at once led him to the Rhine. A strange sight there met his eyes, for the banks of the river were covered with pretty women. The crowd was great but good-humoured. From a rising ground on which he stood the poet saw many of the women, girt with fragrant herbs, kneel down on the water's edge, roll their sleeves up above their elbows, and wash their white arms and hands in the river, murmuring softly some words which the Italian did not understand. He was told that the custom was a very old one, much honoured in the observance, for the common folk, especially the women, believed that to wash in the river on St John's Eve would avert every misfortune in the coming year. On St John's Eve the people of Copenhagen used to go on pilgrimage to a neighbouring spring, there to heal and strengthen themselves in the water. In Spain people still bathe in the sea or roll naked in the dew of the meadows on St John's Eve, believing that this is a sovereign preservative against diseases of the skin. To roll in the dew on the morning of St John's Day is also esteemed a cure for diseases of the skin in Normandy and Perigord. In Perigord a field of hemp is especially recommended for the purpose, and the patient should rub himself with the plants on which he has rolled. At Ciotat in Provence, while the midsummer bonfire blazed, young people used to plunge into the sea and splash each other vigorously. At Vitrolles they bathed in a pond in order that they might not suffer from fever during the year, and at Saint-Maries they watered the horses to protect them from the itch. A custom of drenching people on this occasion with water formerly prevailed in Toulon, Marseilles, and other towns of the south of

France. The water was squirted from syringes, poured on the heads of passers-by from windows, and so forth. From Europe the practice of bathing in rivers and springs on St John's Day appears to have passed with the Spaniards to the New World.

It may perhaps be suggested that this widespread custom of bathing in water or dew on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day is purely Christian in origin, having been adopted as an appropriate mode of celebrating the day dedicated to the Baptist. But in point of fact the custom is older than Christianity, for it was denounced and forbidden as a heathen practice by Augustine, and to this day it is practised at midsummer by the Mohammedan peoples of North Africa. We may conjecture that the Church, unable to put down this relic of paganism, followed its usual policy of accommodation by bestowing on the rite a Christian name and acquiescing, with a sigh, in its observance. And casting about for a saint to supplant a heathen patron of bathing, the Christian doctors could hardly have hit upon a more appropriate successor than St John the Baptist.

But into whose shoes did the Baptist step? Was the displaced deity really Adonis, as the foregoing evidence seems to suggest? In Sardinia and Sicily it may have been so, for in these islands Semitic influence was certainly deep and probably lasting. The midsummer pastimes of Sardinian and Sicilian children may therefore be a direct continuation of the Carthaginian rites of Tammuz. Yet the midsummer festival seems too widely spread and too deeply rooted in Central and Northern Europe to allow us to trace it everywhere to an Oriental origin in general and to the cult of Adonis in particular. It has the air of a native of the soil rather than of an exotic imported from the East. We shall do better, therefore, to suppose that at a remote period similar modes of thought, based on similar needs, led men independently in many distant lands, from the North Sea to the

Euphrates, to celebrate the summer solstice with rites which, while they differed in some things, yet agreed closely in others, that in historical times a wave of Oriental influence, starting perhaps from Babylonia, carried the Tammuz or Adonis form of the festival westward till it met with native forms of a similar festival, and that under pressure of the Roman civilization these different yet kindred festivals fused with each other and crystallized into a variety of shapes, which subsisted more or less separately side by side, till the Church, unable to suppress them altogether, stripped them so far as it could of their grosser features, and dexterously changing the names allowed them to pass muster as Christian. And what has just been said of the midsummer festivals probably applies, with the necessary modifications, to the spring festivals also. They, too, seem to have originated independently in Europe and the East, and after ages of separation to have amalgamated under the sway of the Roman Empire and the Christian Church. In Syria, as we have seen, there appears to have been a vernal celebration of Adonis, and there is an undoubted instance of an Oriental festival of spring in the rites of Attis. Meantime we must return for a little to the midsummer festival which goes by the name of St John.

The Sardinian practice of making merry round a great bonfire on St John's Eve is an instance of a custom which has been practised at the midsummer festival from time immemorial in many parts of Europe. That custom has been more fully dealt with by me elsewhere. The instances which I have cited in other parts of this work seem to indicate a connexion of the midsummer bonfire with vegetation. For example, both in Sweden and Bohemia an essential part of the festival is the raising of a May-pole or Midsummer-tree, which in Bohemia is burned in the bonfire. Again, in a Russian midsummer ceremony a straw figure of Kupalo, the representative of vegeta-

tion, is placed beside a May-pole or Midsummer-tree and then carried to and fro across a bonfire. Kupalo is here represented in duplicate, in tree-form by the Midsummer-tree, and in human form by the straw effigy, just as Adonis was represented both by an image and a garden of Adonis, and the duplicate representatives of Kupalo, like those of Adonis, are finally cast into water. In the Sardinian and Sicilian customs the Gossips or Sweethearts of St John probably answer, on the one hand to Adonis and Astarte, on the other to the King and Queen of May. In the Swedish province of Blekinge part of the midsummer festival is the election of a Midsummer Bride, who chooses her bridegroom, a collection is made for the pair, who for the time being are looked upon as man and wife. Such Midsummer pairs may be supposed, like the May pairs, to stand for the powers of vegetation or of fertility in general. They represent in flesh and blood what the images of Siva or Mahadeo and Parvati in the Indian ceremonies, and the images of Adonis and Aphrodite in the Alexandrian ceremony, set forth in effigy.

The reason why ceremonies whose aim is to foster the growth of vegetation should thus be associated with bonfires, why in particular the representative of vegetation should be burned in the likeness of a tree, or passed across the fire in effigy or in the form of a living couple, has been discussed by me elsewhere. Here it is enough to have adduced evidence of such association, and therefore to have obviated the objection which might have been raised to my theory of the Sardinian custom, on the ground that the bonfires have nothing to do with vegetation. One more piece of evidence may here be given to prove the contrary. In some parts of Germany and Austria young men and girls leap over midsummer bonfires for the express purpose of making the hemp or flax grow tall. We may, therefore, assume that in the Sardinian custom the blades of wheat and barley which are forced on in

pots for the midsummer festival, and which correspond so closely to the gardens of Adonis, form one of those widely-spread midsummer ceremonies, the original object of which was to promote the growth of vegetation, and especially of the crops. But as, by an easy extension of ideas, the spirit of vegetation was believed to exercise a beneficent and fertilizing influence on human as well as animal life, the gardens of Adonis would be supposed, like the May-trees or May-boughs, to bring good luck, and more particularly perhaps offspring, to the family or to the person who planted them, and even after the idea had been abandoned that they operated actively to confer prosperity, they might still be used to furnish omens of good or evil. It is thus that magic dwindles into divination. Accordingly we find modes of divination practised at midsummer which resemble more or less closely the gardens of Adonis. Thus an anonymous Italian writer of the sixteenth century has recorded that it was customary to sow barley and wheat a few days before the festival of St John (Midsummer Day) and also before that of St Vitus, and it was believed that the person for whom they were sown would be fortunate, and get a good husband or a good wife, if the grain sprouted well, but if it sprouted ill, he or she would be unlucky. In various parts of Italy and all over Sicily it is still customary to put plants in water or in earth on the Eve of St John, and from the manner in which they are found to be blooming or fading on St John's Day omens are drawn, especially as to fortune in love. Amongst the plants used for this purpose are *Cum di S Giovanni* (St John's wort?) and nettles. In Prussia two hundred years ago the farmers used to send out their servants, especially their maids, to gather St John's wort on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day (St John's Day). When they had fetched it, the farmer took as many plants as there were persons and stuck them in the wall or between the beams, and it was thought that he or she whose

plant did not bloom would soon fall sick or die. The rest of the plants were tied in a bundle, fastened to the end of a pole, and set up at the gate or wherever the corn would be brought in at the next harvest. The bundle was called *Kupole* the ceremony was known as Kupole's festival, and at it the farmer prayed for a good crop of hay, and so forth. This Prussian custom is particularly notable, inasmuch as it strongly confirms the opinion that Kupalo (doubtless identical with Kupole) was originally a deity of vegetation. For here Kupalo is represented by a bundle of plants specially associated with midsummer in folk-custom, and her influence over vegetation is plainly signified by placing her vegetable emblem over the place where the harvest is brought in, as well as by the prayers for a good crop which are uttered on the occasion. This furnishes a fresh argument in support of the view that the Death, whose analogy to Kupalo, Yarılo, and the rest I have shown elsewhere, originally personified vegetation, more especially the dying or dead vegetation of winter. Further, my interpretation of the gardens of Adonis is confirmed by finding that in this Prussian custom the very same kind of plants is used to form the gardens of Adonis (as we may call them) and the image of the deity. Nothing could set in a stronger light the truth of the theory that the gardens of Adonis are merely another manifestation of the god himself.

In Sicily gardens of Adonis are still sown in spring as well as in summer, from which we may perhaps infer that Sicily as well as Syria celebrated of old a vernal festival of the dead and risen god. At the approach of Easter, Sicilian women sow wheat, lentils, and canary-seed in plates, which they keep in the dark and water every two days. The plants soon shoot up, the stalks are tied together with red ribbons, and the plates containing them are placed on the sepulchres which, with the effigies of the dead Christ, are made up in Catholic and Greek churches on Good Friday, just

as the gardens of Adonis were placed on the grave of the dead Adonis. The practice is not confined to Sicily, for it is observed also at Cosenza in Calabria, and perhaps in other places. The whole custom—sepulchres as well as plates of sprouting grain—may be nothing but a continuation, under a different name, of the worship of Adonis.

Nor are these Sicilian and Calabrian customs the only Easter ceremonies which resemble the rites of Adonis. “During the whole of Good Friday a waxen effigy of the dead Christ is exposed to view in the middle of the Greek churches and is covered with fervent kisses by the thronging crowd, while the whole church rings with melancholy, monotonous dirges. Late in the evening, when it has grown quite dark, this waxen image is carried by the priests into the street on a bier adorned with lemons, roses, jessamine, and other flowers, and there begins a grand procession of the multitude, who move in serried ranks, with slow and solemn step, through the whole town. Every man carries his taper and breaks out into doleful lamentation. At all the houses which the procession passes there are seated women with censers to fumigate the marching host. Thus the community solemnly buries its Christ as if he had just died. At last the waxen image is again deposited in the church, and the same lugubrious chants echo anew. These lamentations, accompanied by a strict fast, continue till midnight on Saturday. As the clock strikes twelve, the bishop appears and announces the glad tidings that ‘Christ is risen,’ to which the crowd replies, ‘He is risen indeed, and at once the whole city bursts into an uproar of joy, which finds vent in shrieks and shouts, in the endless discharge of caronades and muskets, and the explosion of fire-works of every sort. In the very same hour people plunge from the extremity of the fast into the enjoyment of the Easter lamb and neat wine.”

In like manner the Catholic Church has been

accustomed to bring before its followers in a visible form the death and resurrection of the Redeemer. Such sacred dramas are well fitted to impress the lively imagination and to stir the warm feelings of a susceptible southern race, to whom the pomp and pageantry of Catholicism are more congenial than to the colder temperament of the Teutonic peoples. The solemnities observed in Sicily on Good Friday, the official anniversary of the Crucifixion, are thus described by a native Sicilian writer "A truly moving ceremony is the procession which always takes place in the evening in every commune of Sicily, and further the Deposition from the Cross. The brotherhoods took part in the procession, and the rear was brought up by a great many boys and girls representing saints, both male and female, and carrying the emblems of Christ's Passion. The Deposition from the Cross was managed by the priests. The coffin with the dead Christ in it was flanked by Jews armed with swords, an object of horror and aversion in the midst of the profound pity excited by the sight not only of Christ but of the Mater Dolorosa, who followed behind him. Now and then the 'mysteries' or symbols of the Crucifixion went in front. Sometimes the procession followed the 'three hours of agony' and the 'Deposition from the Cross'. The 'three hours' commemorated those which Jesus Christ passed upon the Cross. Beginning at the eighteenth and ending at the twenty-first hour of Italian time two priests preached alternately on the Passion. Anciently the sermons were delivered in the open air on the place called the Calvary. At last, when the third hour was about to strike, at the words *emisit spiritum* Christ died, bowing his head amid the sobs and tears of the bystanders. Immediately afterwards in some places, three hours afterwards in others, the sacred body was unnailed and deposited in the coffin. In Castronuovo, at the Ave Maria, two priests clad as Jews, representing Joseph of Arimathea and Nico-

demus, with their servants in costume, repaired to the Calvary, preceded by the Company of the Whites. There, with doleful verses and chants appropriate to the occasion, they performed the various operations of the Deposition, after which the procession took its way to the larger church. In Salaparuta the Calvary is erected in the church. At the announcement of the death, the Crucified is made to bow his head by means of machinery, while guns are fired, trumpets sound, and amid the silence of the people, impressed by the death of the Redeemer, the strains of a melancholy funeral march are heard. Christ is removed from the Cross and deposited in the coffin by three priests. After the procession of the dead Christ the burial is performed, that is, two priests lay Christ in a fictitious sepulchre, from which at the mass of Easter Saturday the image of the risen Christ issues and is elevated upon the altar by means of machinery. Scenic representations of the same sort, with variations of detail, are exhibited at Easter in the Abruzzi, and probably in many other parts of the Catholic world.¹

When we reflect how often the Church has skilfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith on the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted upon a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis, which, as we have seen reason to believe, was celebrated in Syria at the same season. The type, created by Greek artists, of the sorrowful goddess with her dying lover in her arms, resembles and may have been the model of the *Pietà* of Christian art, the Virgin with the dead body of her divine Son in her lap, of which the most celebrated example is the one by Michael Angelo in St Peter's. That noble group, in which the living sorrow of the mother contrasts so wonderfully with the languor of death in the son, is one of the finest compositions in marble. Ancient

¹ The drama of the death and resurrection of Christ was formerly celebrated at Easter in England

Greek art has bequeathed to us few works so beautiful, and none so pathetic

In this connexion a well-known statement of Jerome may not be without significance. He tells us that Bethlehem, the traditionary birthplace of the Lord, was shaded by a grove of that still older Syrian Lord, Adonis, and that where the infant Jesus had wept, the lover of Venus was bewailed. Though he does not expressly say so, Jerome seems to have thought that the grove of Adonis had been planted by the heathen after the birth of Christ for the purpose of defiling the sacred spot. In this he may have been mistaken. If Adonis was indeed, as I have argued, the spirit of the corn, a more suitable name for his dwelling-place could hardly be found than Bethlehem, "the House of Bread," and he may well have been worshipped there at his House of Bread long ages before the birth of Him who said, "I am the bread of life." Even on the hypothesis that Adonis followed rather than preceded Christ at Bethlehem, the choice of his sad figure to divert the allegiance of Christians from their Lord cannot but strike us as eminently appropriate when we remember the similarity of the rites which commemorated the death and resurrection of the two. One of the earliest seats of the worship of the new god was Antioch, and at Antioch, as we have seen, the death of the old god was annually celebrated with great solemnity. A circumstance which attended the entrance of Julian into the city at the time of the Adonis festival may perhaps throw some light on the date of its celebration. When the emperor drew near to the city he was received with public prayers as if he had been a god, and he marvelled at the voices of a great multitude who cried that the Star of Salvation had dawned upon them in the East. This may doubtless have been no more than a fulsome compliment paid by an obsequious Oriental crowd to the Roman emperor. But it is also possible that the rising of a bright star regularly gave the signal for

the festival, and that as chance would have it the star emerged above the rim of the eastern horizon at the very moment of the emperor's approach. The coincidence, if it happened, could hardly fail to strike the imagination of a superstitious and excited multitude, who might thereupon hail the great man as the deity whose coming was announced by the sign in the heavens. Or the emperor may have mistaken for a greeting to himself the shouts which were addressed to the star. Now Astarte, the divine mistress of Adonis, was identified with the planet Venus, and her changes from a morning to an evening star were carefully noted by the Babylonian astronomers, who drew omens from her alternate appearance and disappearance. Hence we may conjecture that the festival of Adonis was regularly timed to coincide with the appearance of Venus as the Morning or Evening Star. But the star which the people of Antioch saluted at the festival was seen in the East, therefore, if it was indeed Venus, it can only have been the Morning Star. At Aphaca in Syria, where there was a famous temple of Astarte, the signal for the celebration of the rites was apparently given by the flashing of a meteor, which on a certain day fell like a star from the top of Mount Lebanon into the river Adonis. The meteor was thought to be Astarte herself, and its flight through the air might naturally be interpreted as the descent of the amorous goddess to the arms of her lover. At Antioch and elsewhere the appearance of the Morning Star on the day of the festival may in like manner have been hailed as the coming of the goddess of love to wake her dead leman from his earthy bed. If that were so, we may surmise that it was the Morning Star which guided the wise men of the East to Bethlehem, the hallowed spot which heard, in the language of Jerome, the weeping of the infant Christ and the lament for Adonis.

INDEX

- Abruzzi, marvellous properties attributed to water on St John's Night in the, 206, Easter ceremonies in the, 216
- Abu Rabah, resort of childless wives in Palestine, 60, 61
- Achaia, subject to earthquakes, 166
- Acharaca, cave of Pluto at, 169 *sq*
- Acilisena, temple of Anaitis at, 27
- Adad, Syrian king, 10, Babylonian and Assyrian god of thunder and lightning, 133
- Adom melech or Uri melech, king of Byblus, 10, 11
- Adon, a Semitic title, 4 *sq*, 11 *sq*, 13
- Adonai, title of Jehovah, 4 *sq*
- Adoni, "my lord," Semitic title, 4, names compounded with, 11
- Adoni bezek, king of Jerusalem, 11
- Adoni zedek, king of Jerusalem, 11
- Adonis, myth of, 1 *sqq*, Greek worship of, 4, in Greek mythology, 7 *sqq*, in Syria, 9 *sqq*, monuments of, 21, in Cyprus, 22 *sqq*, 36, identified with Osiris, 22, mourning for, at Byblus, 26, said to be the fruit of incest, 30, his mother Myrrha, 30, the son of Cinyras, 35, the title of the sons of Phoenician kings in Cyprus, 36, his violent death, 41, music in the worship of, 41, sacred prostitution in the worship of, 42, inspired prophets in worship of, 59, human representatives of, perhaps burnt, 89, doves burned in honour of, 118, personated by priestly kings, 186, the ritual of, 186 *sqq*, his death and resurrection represented in his rites, 187 *sq*, festivals of, 187 *sqq*, the ascension of, 187, images of, thrown into the sea or springs, 187, 197, born from a myrrh-tree, 189, analogy of his rites to Indian and European ceremonies, 189, his death and resurrection interpreted as representations of the decay and revival of vegetation, 189 *sqq*, interpreted as the sun 190, interpreted by the ancients as the god of the reaped and sprouting corn, 191, as a corn spirit, 191 *sqq*, hunger the root of the worship of, 192, perhaps originally a personification of wild vegetation, especially grass and trees, 193, the gardens of, 197 *sqq*, rain charm in the rites of, 197, resemblance of his rites to the festival of Easter, 214 *sqq*, worshipped at Bethlehem, 217 *sqq*, and the planet Venus as the Morning Star, 218 *sq*
- Adonis and Aphrodite, 8, 20, their marriage celebrated at Alexandria, 187
- , Attis, Osiris, their mythical similarity, 4
- , the river, its valley, 19 *sqq*, annual discoloration of the, 21, 188
- Aedepsus, hot springs of Hercules at, 175 *sq*
- Aegipan and Hermes, 127
- Aelian, on impregnation of Judean maid by serpent, 63
- Aeschylus, on Typhon, 126
- Aesculapius, in relation to serpents, 62 *sq*, reputed father of Aratus, 62 *sq*, his shrines at Sicyon and Titane, 63, his dispute with Hercules, 173 *sq*
- Africa, serpents as reincarnations of the dead in, 64 *sqq*, infant burial in, 71 *sq*, reincarnation of the dead in, 71 *sq*
- , North, custom of bathing at Midsummer among the Mohammedan peoples of, 209
- , West, sacred men and women in, 49 *sqq*
- Afterbirths burned in banana groves, 73, regarded as twins of the children, 73
- Agbasia, West African god, 61
- Agasipolis, King of Sparta, his conduct in an earthquake, 161
- Agraulus, daughter of Cecrops, worshipped at Salamis in Cyprus, 117
- Agriculture, religious objections to, 69 *sqq*

- Airi, a deity of North West India, 139
 Ajax and Teucer, names of priestly kings of Olba, 116 sq, 131
 Akikuyu of British East Africa, their worship of snakes, 51 sq, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64, 66
 Albanians of the Caucasus, their worship of the moon, 56
 Albinoes the offspring of the moon, 71
 Alexander the Great expels a king of Paphos, 30, his fabulous birth, 63, assumes costumes of deities, 134
 Alexandria, festival of Adonis at, 187
 Allatu, Babylonian goddess, 6
 Amathus, in Cyprus, Adonis and Melcarth at, 22, 95, statue of lion slaying god found at, 95
 Ambabai, an Indian goddess, 204
 Ambala District, Punjab, 74
 America, reincarnation of the dead in, 71
 Ammon, Milcom, the god of, 13
 Ammon (the Egyptian) at Thebes, his human wives, 56
 Amorites, their law as to fornication, 26
 Amsanctus, the valley of, 168
 Anacreon, on Cinyras, 41
 Anacyndaraxes, father of Sardanapalus, 141
 Anatis, sacred prostitution in the worship of, 27
 Ancestors, propitiation of deceased, 32
 Ancestral spirits, incarnate in serpents, 64 sqq, in the form of animals, 64
 Anchale in Cilicia, 116, monument of Sardanapalus at 141
 Anemone, the scarlet, sprung from the blood of Adonis, 188
 Angel, the Destroying, over Jerusalem, 16
 Anhalt, custom at sowing in, 199
 Anje, a mythical being who brings children to women, 82
 Annual death and resurrection of gods, 4
 Anointing as a ceremony of consecration, 52, 58
 — sacred stones, custom of, 25
Ani-estheria, festival of the dead at Athens, 195
 Antigonus, king, 176
 Antioch, destroyed by an earthquake, 185 n, festival of Adonis at, 189, 217 sq
 Apameia, worship of Poseidon at, 161
 Aphac in Syria, sanctuary of Astarte at, 20, 218, meteor as signal for festival at, 218
 Aphrodite, her sacred doves, 24, 118, sanctuary of, at Paphos, 23 sqq, the month of, 117, her blood dyes white roses red, 188
 — and Adonis, 8, 20, their marriage celebrated at Alexandria, 187
 — and Cinyras, 35 sq
 — and Pygmalion, 36 sq
 — of the Lebanon, the mourning, 21
 Apis, mourning for the death of, 188
 Apollo, the friend of Cinyras, 40, music in the worship of, 40 sq, reputed father of Augustus, 63
 — and Marsyas, 41
 — of the Golden Sword, 144
 Apotheosis by being burnt alive, 147 sq
 Arab name for the scarlet anemone, 188
 Arabic writer on the mourning for Ta'uz (Tammuz) in Harran, 191
 Arabs resort to the springs of Callirrhoe in Moab, 178 sq
 Aratus of Sicyon, deemed a son of Aesculapius, 63
 Araunah, the threshing floor of, 16
 Arcadians sacrifice to thunder and lightning, 128
 Arenna or Arinna, the sun-goddess of, 110
 Arensdorf, custom at sowing in, 199
 Argaeus, Mount in Cappadocia, 156 sq
 Aristomenes, Messenian hero, his fabulous birth, 63
 Aristophanes, on Hercules as patron of hot springs, 173
 Armenia, sacred prostitution of girls before marriage in, 27, 43
 Artemis at Perga, 24, name given by Greeks to Asiatic Mother Goddesses, 138
 —, Perasian, at Castabala, 93, 137 sqq
 —, Sarpedonian, in Cilicia, 137, 140
 —, the Tauric, human sacrifices to the, 93
 Arunta of Central Australia, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 78, 79
 Ascension of Adonis, 187
 Ashantee, human sacrifices at earthquakes in, 166
Asherim, sacred poles, 12, 12 n, 87
 Ashtoreth (Astarte), 12 n See Astarte
 Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, 116, confused with the legendary Sardanapalus, 142
 Ashvin, an Indian month, 203
 Asia Minor, priestly dynasties of, 112 sq, subject to volcanic forces, 156, subject to earthquakes, 166

- Asopus, the river, 63
 Assam, the Khasis of, 32
 Assyrians in Cilicia, 142
 Astarte at Byblus, 9 *sq*, and the *asherim*, 12, kings as priests of, 18, at Paphos, 24 *sqq*, doves sacred to, 118, identified with the planet Venus, 218
 Asteria, mother of the Tyrian Hercules (Melcarth), 90
Asvaltha tree, 63
 Atargatis, Syrian goddess, 110, worshipped at Hierapolis-Bambyce, 133 *sq*, derivation of the name, 133, her husband god, 133 *sq*
 *Atheh, Cilician goddess, 132
 Athena, temple of, at Salamis in Cyprus, 117, and hot springs, 173
 Athens, sacred serpent at, 68, the Commemoration of the Dead at, 195
 Atonga, tribe of Lake Nyassa, their theory of earthquakes, 164
 Attica, summer festival of Adonis in, 188
 Attis, priests of Cybele called, 113
 —, Adonis, Osiris, their mythical similarity, 4
 Augustus reputed a son of Apollo, 63
 Aurelia Aemilia, a sacred harlot, 26
 Australia, belief as to the reincarnation of the dead in, 78 *sqq*
 Australian aborigines, their preparation for marriage, 45, their belief in conception without sexual intercourse, 79 *sqq*
 Austria, leaping over Midsummer fires in, 211
 "Awakening of Hercules," festival at Tyre, 90
 Axe, emblem of Hittite god of thundering sky, 109, as divine emblem, 133, symbol of Asiatic thunder-god, 149
 —, double headed, symbol of Sandan, 103, carried by Lydian kings, 149, a palladium of the Heraclid sovereignty, 149
 Baal, Semitic god, 10, 11, royal names compounded with, 11, as the god of fertility, 18 *sq*, conceived as god who fertilizes land by subterranean water, 129
 — and Sandan at Tarsus, 114 *sq*, 131
 — of the Lebanon, 22
 — of Tarsus, 95 *sqq*, 132 *sq*
 Baalath or Astarte, 18, 24
 — and Baal, 19
 — Gebal, 10
 Baalbec, 20, sacred prostitution at, 26, image of Hadad at, 133
 Baalim, firstlings and first-fruits offered to the, 19
 Babylon, early kings of, worshipped as gods, 10, worship of Mylitta at, 25, religious prostitution at, 43, human wives of Marduk at, 55
 Babylonia, worship of Tammuz in, 4 *sqq*
 Babylonian hymns to Tammuz, 6
 Bacchylides as to Croesus on the pyre, 144 *sq*
 Baganda, their worship of the python, 67, rebirth of the dead among the, 72 *sq*, their theory of earthquakes, 164
 Bagishu (Bageshu) of Mount Elgon, reincarnation of the dead among the, 72
 Bagobos of the Philippine Islands, their theory of earthquakes, 165
 Baigas, Dravidian tribe of India, their objection to agriculture, 69
 Bailly, French astronomer, on the Arctic origin of the rites of Adonis, 190
 Baku, on the Caspian, perpetual fires at, 158
 Balinese, their conduct in an earthquake, 162
 Banana, women impregnated by the flower of the, 73
 Bangalas of the Congo, rebirth of dead among the, 72
 Bantu tribes, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64 *sqq*
 Bar rekub, king of Samal, 10 *sq*
 Barley forced for festival, 200, 201, 202, 204, 211 *sq*
 Barren women resort to graves in order to get children, 71, entice souls of dead children to them, 74
 Barrenness of women cured by passing through holed stone, 25, removed by serpent, 67, children murdered as a remedy for, 75
 Basil, pots of, on St John's Day in Sicily, 206
 Bataks of Sumatra, their theory of earthquakes, 164
 Batara guru, the Batak creator, 164
 Bathing on St John's Day or Eve (Midsummer Day or Eve), 206 *sqq*, pagan origin of the custom, 209
 Baths of Hercules, 176
 — of Solomon in Moab, 178
 Batoo Bedano, an earthquake god, 166
 Battle of the gods and giants, 127
 Bavaria, gardens of Adonis in, 204
 Bearded Venus, in Cyprus, 134

- Bel or Marduk at Babylon, 55
 Ben hadad, king of Damascus, 10
 Benefit of clergy, 52
 Bengal, the Oraons and Mundas of, 33, 200
 Bent, J Theodore, discovers ruins of Olba, 121
 Bethlehem, worship of Adonis at, 217 *sq*, the Star of, 218
 Betsileo of Madagascar, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64
 Bhādon, Indian month, 203
 Bhujariya, festival in the Central Provinces of India, 203
 Bilaspore, infant burial in, 74 *sq*
 Bishnois of the Punjaub, infant burial among the, 74
 Black-snake clan, 79
 Blekinge, province of Sweden, Midsummer custom in, 211
 Bodroum in Cilicia, ruins of, 137
 Boghaz-Keui, Hittite capital, situation and remains, 103 *sqq*, the gods of, 103 *sqq*, rock hewn sculptures at, 105 *sqq*
 Bohemia, May pole or Midsummer-tree in, 210
 Bones of the dead used in rain making ceremonies, 15 *sq*
 —, fossil, source of myths about giants, 127 *sq*
 Bonfire on St John's Eve, dances round it, 205
 Bosman, W, on serpent worship, 51
 Bouche, Abbé, on West African priestesses, 53
 Breath not to defile sacred flame, 157
 Bride and Bridegroom at Midsummer in Sweden, 211
 Bromo, volcano in Java, worshipped, 183 *sq*
 Brother of a god, 37
 Brothers and sisters, marriages of, in royal families, 31
 Brown A R, on the beliefs of the West Australian aborigines as to the causes of childbirth, 83 *sqq*
 Buduna tribe of West Australia, their beliefs as to the birth of children, 84
 Bull as emblem of generative force, 100, worshipped by the Hittites, 100, 108, emblem of Hittite thunder-god, 109, Hittite god standing on a, 109, as emblem of a thunder-god, 110, as symbol of thunder and fertility, 133 *sq*, the emblem of the Father God, 134, worshipped at Cuyuk, 134
 Bulls, husband god at Hierapolis seated on, 133
 — sacrificed at caves of Pluto, 169
 Burial of infants to ensure their rebirth, 71, 73 *sqq*, at Gezer, 87 *sq*
 Burmese, their conduct during an earthquake, 165
 Burning of Melcarth, 89 *sqq*, of Sandan, 95 *sqq*, of Cilician gods, 139 *sq*, of Sardanapalus, 141 *sqq*, of Croesus, 143 *sqq*, of a god, 154 *sq*
 Burnings for dead kings of Judah, 145 *sq*, for dead Jewish Rabbis at Meiron, 146
 Burns, Robert, on John Barleycorn, 191
 Burnt alive, apotheosis by being, 147
 — Land of Lydia, 159 *sq*
 Bustard totem, 83
 Byblus, Adonis at, 9 *sqq*, the kings of, 9 *sqq*, mourning for Adonis at, 26, religious prostitution at, 43, inspired prophets at, 58 *sq*, festival of Adonis at, 187
 Cadmus turned into a snake, 67 *sq*
 —, Mount, 171
 Cadys, a Lydian, 150
 Calabria, Easter custom in, 214
 Callirrhoe, the springs of, in Moab, 177 *sqq*
 Canaanite kings of Jerusalem, 11
 Candaules, king of Lydia, 149
 Cape Bedford in Queensland, belief of the natives as to the birth of children, 82
 Cappadocia, volcanic region of, 155 *sqq*, fire worship in, 157 *sq*
 Carchemish, Hittite capital on Euphrates, 100
 Caria, Zeus Labrandeus in, 149, poisonous vapours in, 169 *sq*
 Carthage, legend and worship of Dido at, 92 *sq*, Hamilcar worshipped at, 93
 Castabala in Cappadocia, 138
 — in Cilicia, worship of Perasian Artemis at, 93, 137 *sqq*
 Castiglione a Casauria, in the Abruzzi, Midsummer custom at, 207
 Catafalque burnt at funeral of king of Siam, 147
 Catania in Sicily, the vineyards of, 160, gardens of Adonis at, 205
 Catholic Church, the ritual of the, 40, ceremonies on Good Friday in the, 213, 215 *sq*
 Cato, 30
 Caucasus, the Albanians of the, 56
 Cauldron, the magical, which makes the old young again, 148
 Caverns of Demeter, 68
 Caves, limestone, 123
 Cecrops, father of Agraulus, 117
 Cedar forests of Cilicia, 120

- Celebes, conduct of the inhabitants in an earthquake, 165
 Celenderis in Cilicia, 29
 Central Provinces of India, gardens of Adonis in the, 202 *sq*
 Ceremonies, magical, for the regulation of the seasons, 1 *sq*
 Charon, places of, 168, 169
Charonia, places of Charon, 168
 Chastity, ceremonial, 30
 Chief, ancestral, reincarnate in snakes, 65
 "Child stones," where souls of dead await rebirth, 79
 Childbirth, primitive ignorance of the causes of, 85 *sq*
 Childless women expect offspring from St George, 60, resort to Baths of Solomon, 60, receive offspring from serpent, 67, resort to graves in order to secure offspring, 76, resort to hot springs in Syria, 176 *sq*
 Children bestowed by saints, 60 *sq*, given by serpent, 67, murdered that their souls may be reborn in barren women, 75, sacrificed to volcano in Siao, 182-3
 — of God, 52
 Chili, earthquakes in, 167
 Chimaera Mount, in Lycia, perpetual fire on, 184
 Chinese author on disturbance of earth spirits by agriculture, 69
 Chiriqui, volcano, 165
 Chittim (Citium) in Cyprus, 22
 Cilicia, male deity of, assimilated to Zeus, 96 *sq*, kings of, their affinity to Sandan, 116, the Assyrians in, 142
 —, Western or Rugged, described, 119 *sq*, fossils of, 123 *sq*
 Cilician deity assimilated to Zeus, 116 *sq*, 118, 122
 — Gates, pass of the, 97
 — goddesses, 132 *sq*
 — gods, the burning of, 140
 — pirates, 120
 — priests, names of, 116
 Cinyrads, dynasty of the, 29 *sq*
 Cinyras, the father of Adonis, 9, 10, 36, king of Byblus, 19, founds sanctuary of Astarte, 19, said to have instituted religious prostitution, 29, 37, his daughters, 29, 37, his riches, 30, his incest, 30, wooed by Aphrodite, 35, meaning of the name, 38, the friend of Apollo, 40, legends of his death, 41
 Ciotat in Provence, bathing at Mid summer at, 208
 Citium (Chittim), in Cyprus, 22, 36
 Cleomenes, King of Sparta, and serpents, 67
 Cleon of Magnesia at Gades, 91
 Cnossus in Crete, prehistoric palace at, 24
 Coimbatore, dancing-girls at, 46
 Cologne, Petrarch at, on St John's Eve, 208
 Comana in Pontus, worship of goddess Ma at, 27
 Commemoration of the Dead at Athens, 195
 Communal rights over women, 40
 Conception, supposed, without sexual intercourse, 71, in women supposed to be caused by food, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84 *See also* Impregnation
 Conceptional animals and plants as causes of pregnancy in women, 77 *sq*, 84 *sq*
 Concubines, human, of the god Ammon, 56
 Cone, image of Astarte, 9
 Cones as emblems of a goddess, 24 *sq*
 Congo, burial of infants on the, 71
 Conibos Indians of the Ucayali River, their theory of earthquakes, 163
 Conical stone as divine emblem, 135, 136
 Constantine destroys temple of Astarte, 20, suppresses sacred prostitution, 26
 Coomassie, in Ashantee, 166
 Copenhagen, bathing on St. John's Eve at, 208
 Corn, water thrown on the last cut a rain charm, 198 *sq*
 — and grapes, symbols of the god of Tarsus, 96, 114, of the god of Ibreez, 99
 — and vine, emblems of the gods of Tarsus and Ibreez, 130 *sq*
 — god, Adonis as a, 191 *sq*
 — spirit, Tammuz or Adonis as a, 191 *sq*, propitiation of the, perhaps fused with a worship of the dead, 193 *sq*
 — wreaths as first fruits, 30
 Corycian cave, priests of Zeus at the, 116, the god of the, 122 *sq*, described, 123 *sq*, saffron at the, 153, name perhaps derived from crocus, 153
 Corycus in Cilicia, ruins of, 123
 Cosenza in Calabria, Easter custom at, 214
 Cotys, king of Lydia, 153
 Crests of the Cilician pirates, 120
 Croesus, king of Lydia, captures Pteria, 104, the burning of, 143 *sq*, 147, dedicates golden lion at Delphi, 151

- Cronus identified with Phœnician El, 135
 Crops dependent on serpent god, 51
 Crown wearer, priest of Hercules at Tarsus, 115
 Cyaxares, king of the Medes, 142
 Cybele, her cymbals and tambourines, 10, her lions and turreted crown, 110, priests of, called Attis, 113
 Cybistra in Cappadocia, 98, 100, 101
 Cymbals in religious music, 38, 40
 — and tambourines in worship of Cybele, 40
 Cyprus, Phœnicians in, 22, Adonis in, 22 sqq, sacred prostitution in, 25, 37, 43, Melcarth worshipped in, 95, human sacrifices in, 116 sq
 Cyrus and Croesus, 143 sqq
 Dacia, hot springs in, 176
 Damascus, Aramean kings of, 10
 Damasen, a giant, 152
 Dances, religious, 45, 49, 52
 Dancing girls in India, harlots and wives of the gods, 45 sqq
 Dañh ghi, python god, 50
 Dâsi, dancing girl, 47
 Daughter of a god, 37
 David, king, in relation to the old kings of Jerusalem, 13 sq, his conquest of Ammon, 13, his taking of a census, 16, as a harper, 38, 39, 40
 — and Saul, 14
 Dead, Festival of the, in Java, 183, worship of the, perhaps fused with the propitiation of the corn spirit, 194 sqq
 —, incarnation of the, 64 sqq, in America, 71, in Africa, 71 sq
 — men believed to beget children, 71
 — Sea 16
 Death in the fire as an apotheosis, 147 sq
 — and resurrection, annual, of gods, 4, of Adonis represented in his rites, 187 sq
 Dedicated men and women in Africa, 49 sqq
 Dedication of girls to the service of a temple, 45 sqq, of children to gods, 61
 Demeter, her sacred caverns, 68
 — and ears of corn, 136
 — and the king's son at Eleusis, 147
 Dervishes of Asia Minor, 139
 Devadâsi, dancing girl, 47 sq
 Dévaratîâl, dancing girl, 47
 Dew, bathing in the, on Midsummer Eve or Day, 206 sq, 208
 Diana, a Mother Goddess, 32, her sanctuary at Nemi, 32
 Dianus and Diana 19, 31
 Dido flees from love, 36, her traditional death in the fire, 62, worshipped at Carthage, 92, an Avatar of Astarte 145
 Dinkas, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead 61, pour milk on graves, 63
 Dio Chrysostom, on the people of Tarsus, 96
 Diodorus Siculus, on worship of Poseidon in Peloponnese 167
 Diomedes, human sacrifices to, 117
 Dionysus in form of bull, 103, with vine and ploughman on a coin, 136, ancient interpretation of, 160, 176
 Diphilus king of Cyprus, 117
 Disc, winged, as divine emblem, 107
 Discoloration, annual, of the river Adonis 21, 188
 Divination at Midsummer, 212 sq
 Divinities of the volcano Kiriak, 181 sq
 Divinity of Semitic kings 10 sqq, of Lydian kings, 149 sqq
 Dolche in Commagene 110
 Dorasques of Panama, their theory of earthquakes, 165
 Double-headed axe, symbol of Sandan, 103, carried by Lydian kings 149, a palladium of the Heracleid sovereignty, 149
 Doves burnt in honour of Adonis, 118
 —, sacred, of Aphrodite, 24, or Astarte, 118
 Dowers earned by prostitution, 26, 44
 Dramas, magical, for the regulation of the seasons, 2 sq
 Dreams, revelations given to sick people by Pluto and Persephone in, 169
 Drenching last corn cut with water as a rain-charm, 198 sq
 Drought, kings answerable for, 14 sq
 Ea, Babylonian god, 6
 Eagle to carry soul to heaven, 102 sq
 Ears of corn, emblem of Demeter, 136
 Earth as the Great Mother, 19
 —, the goddess, mother of Typhon, 127
 Earth goddess annually married to Sun god, 33 sq, disturbed by the operations of husbandry, 68 sqq
 — spirits disturbed by agriculture, 69
 Earthquake god, 160 sqq
 Earthquakes, attempts to stop, 161 sqq

- Labyrinth, palace of Amon at Thebes, 217 sq., representation of the labyrinth, to the Nile of Adonis, 218 sq.
- Egypt, the land of, 30
- Egypt, wars of Amenhotep III, 36
- Egyptian literature, collection of records, 33
- Egyptian readers, the lamental one and invocations of Isis, 192
- El, Phoenician god, 9, identified with Cronus, 135
- El-Bekkt festival of mourning for Tammuz in Harran, 91
- Eleusis, Demeter and the king's son at, 147
- Ell, the sons of, 59
- Enki prophesies to man, 35, 40, finds water in the desert, 39, 48
- Emesa, sun god Helios at, 2,
- Empedocles leaps into the crater of Etna, 148
- England harvest custom in, 198
- Epaurus, Aesculapius at, 62
- Erechthon sacred serpent in the, 68
- Erechtheus, King of Athens, his sacred serpent, 68
- Eregh (the ancient Cybistra) in Cappadocia, 98, 100
- Eresh Kigal, Babylonian goddess, 6
- Erme or Nemesis, gardens of Adonis in Sardinia, 204
- Etna Mount, Typhon buried under, 126, 127, the death of Empedocles on, 148, the ashes of, 160, offerings thrown into the craters of, 184
- Euboea subject to earthquakes, 175, her best custom in, 198
- Eunuch priests of the Mother Goddess, 170
- Euyuk in Cappadocia, Hittite palace at, 100, 108, bull worshipped at, 134
- Evil farmers fear to wound the Earth goddess, 70
- speaking peoples of the Slave Coast, sacred prostitution among the, 49 sq
- Exorcism by means of music, 40 sq
- Ezekiel on the mourning for Tammuz, 7, 11, 14, on the king of Tyre, 92
- Father of a god, 37, 38
- deity of the Hittites, the god of the thundering sky, 109 sqq
- God, his emblem the bull, 134
- kin at Rome, 29
- , Mother, and Son divinities represented at Boghaz Keui, 112 sqq
- Fatherhood of God, the physical, 62 sq
- Father of the Golden Flower at Sardes, 143
- Fest first children born, custom observed at their graves, 73
- Fertility of ground thought to be promoted by prostitution, 27, promoted by marriage of women to serpents, 51
- Festival of "the awakening of Hercules" at Tyre, 90, of the Dead in Java, 143, of Flowers (Inferior), 195 sq
- 'Field of the giants,' 128
- Iggar god of fruit trees, 70
- Len' 70
- Iguais, the theory of earthquakes, 165
- Iire, purification by, 93 n, 117 sqq, Persian reverence for, 143 sq, death in the, as an apotheosis, 147 sq
- perpetual in Zoroastrian religion, 157, worshipped, 157 sqq
- all of the king of Tyre, 92 sq, of priestesses at Castabala, 138
- worship in Cappadocia, 157 sq
- First born, Semitic sacrifice of the, 89
- fruits offered to the Baalim, 19
- Firstlings offered to the Baalim, 19
- Fish, soul of dead in, 75 sq
- Ilamen Drilis and Ilamunica, 31 sq
- Ilamunica and her husband the Ilamen Drilis, 31 sq
- Ilax, omens from the growth of, 204
- Flower of the banana, women impregnated by the, 73
- "—of Zeus," 152, 153
- Flute music, its exciting influence, 40
- Flutes played in the laments for Tammuz, 6
- Food, virgins supposed to conceive through eating certain, 76, as a cause of conception in women, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84
- Fortune of the city on coins of Tarsus, 134, the guardian of cities, 134
- Fossil bones in limestone caves, 123, a source of myths about giants, 127 sq
- Fra Angelico, his influence on Catholicism, 40 n
- France, harvest custom in, 198
- Frigento, Valley of Amsancus near, 168
- Funeral pyre of Roman emperor, 103 sq
- Gad, Semitic god of fortune, 134
- Gades (Cadiz), worship of Hercules (Melcarth) at, 91 sq
- Galelarese of Halmahera, as to human sacrifices to volcanoes, 183

- Gardens of Adonis, 197 *sqq*, charms to promote the growth of vegetation, 197 *sq*, 199, in India, 199 *sqq*, in Bavaria, 204, in Sardinia 204 *sq*, in Sicily, 205, at Easter, 213 *sq*
 — of God, 100, 130
 Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, conduct of the natives in an earthquake, 165
 Genus, Roman, symbolized by a serpent, 67
 Germany, harvest custom in, 198, leaping over Midsummer fires in, 211
 Gezer, Canaanitish city, excavations at, 87
 Gezo, King, 52
 Ghineh, monument of Adonis at, 21
 Ghosts thought to impregnate women, 73
 Giants, myths of, based on discovery of fossil bones, 127 *sq*
 — and gods, their battle, 127
 God, children of, 52, sons of, 61 *sqq*, the physical fatherhood of, 62 *sq*, gardens of, 100, 130
 —, the burning of a, 154 *sq*
 — of earthquakes, 160 *sqq*
 Godavari District, Southern India, 75
 Goddess, identified with priestess, 182
 Goddesses, Cilician, 132 *sqq*, place infant sons of kings on fire to render them immortal, 147
 Gods, annual death and resurrection of, 4, personated by priests, 31, 33 *sqq*
 — and giants the battle of, 127
 Gold Coast of West Africa, the Tshi-speaking peoples of the, 53
 Golden Flower, the Feast of the, 153
 — Sea, the, 120
 Golgi in Cyprus, 24
 Gonds, ceremony of bringing back souls of the dead among the, 75 *sq*
 Good Friday, effigies and sepulchres of Christ on, 213 *sqq*
 Goowoong Awo, volcano, children sacrificed to, 183
 Gouri, an Indian goddess of fertility, 202
 Grandmother, earth thought to cause earthquakes, 163
 Grapes as divine emblem, 135
 Graves, milk offered at, 68, childless women resort to, in order to ensure offspring, 76
 "Great burnings" for kings of Judah, 145 *sq*
 Greek belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 67 *sq*
 — Church, ceremonies on Good Friday in the, 213
 Greek gods, discrimination of their characters, 97
 — mythology, Adonis in, 7 *sqq*
 — use of music in religion, 10 *sq*
 — writers on the worship of Adonis, 186 *sq*
 Grotto of the Sibyl, at Marsala, 207
 Guardian spirits in the form of animals, 64, in serpents, 61, 67
 Guevo Upr, the Valley of Poison, in Java, 167 *sq*
 Gujrat District, Punjab, 74
 Gyges, king of Lydia, dedicates double headed axe to Zeus, 149
 Hadad, chief male deity of the Syrians, 10, Syrian god of thunder and fertility, 133
 Hadrian, human sacrifice suppressed in reign of, 117
 Hair, sacrifice of women's, 26, offered to goddess of volcano, 181, of head shaved in mourning for dead gods, 188
 Halmahera, the Galelareese of, 183
 Hamulcar, his self-sacrifice at the battle of Himera, 93 *sq*, worshipped at Carthage, 93, burns himself, 145, worshipped after death, 147
 Handel, the harmonics of, 40
 Hannab, the prayer of, 61
 Hannibal, his prayers to Melcarth, 91
 Harmonia, turned into a snake, 67
 Harp, the music of the, in religion, 38 *sqq*
 Haran, mourning of women for Tammuz in, 191
 Harvest, custom of throwing water on the last corn cut as a rain-charm, 198 *sq*
 Hattusil, king of the Hittites, 109
 Hawaii, the volcano of Kirauea in, 179 *sqq*
 Hazeel, king of Damascus, 10
 Heathen, origin of Midsummer festival (festival of St John), 209 *sq*
 Hebrew kings, traces of their divinity, 13 *sqq*
 Hebrew prophecy, the distinctive character of, 58
 — prophets, their resemblance to those of Africa, 57 *sq*
 Helice, in Achaia, destroyed by earthquake, 167
 Helhogabalus, sun god at Emesa, 24
 Heliopolis (Baalbec) in Syria, sacred prostitution at, 24, 43
 Hephaestus and hot springs, 173
 Heracids, Lydian dynasty of the, 149, 150, perhaps Hittite, 151 *sq*
 Hercules identified with Melcarth,

- 11, 87, slain by Typhon and revived by Iolus, 90, burnt on Mount Oeta, 90, 94, 175, worshipped at Grades, 91 sq, identified with Sandan, 102, 115, 131, burns himself, 144, worshipped after death, 147 the itch of, 173, his dispute with Aesculapius, 173, the patron of hot springs, 173 sq, altar of, at Thermopylae, 173
- and the lion, 150
- and Omphale, 149
- and Sardapalus, 141 sq
- , the Lydian, identical with the Cilician Hercules, 149, 151
- with the lion's scalp, Greek type of, 95 sq
- Hereditary deities, 37
- Hermes and Aegipan, 127
- Hermus, river, 152
- Herod resorts to the springs of Callirhoe, 177
- Herodes Atticus, his benefaction at Thermopylae, 173
- Herodotus on sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, 24, on religious prostitution, 43, on wife of Bel, 55, on Cyrus and Croesus, 143, on so-called monument of Sesostris, 152
- Hesse, custom at ploughing in, 199
- Hettingen in Baden, custom at sowing at, 199
- Hezekiah, King, his reformation, 17, 86
- Hierapolis, the Syrian, festival of the Pyre or Torch at, 117, sacred doves at, 118
- , in the valley of the Maeander, cave of Pluto at, 170, hot springs at, 170 sq
- Bambyce, Atargatis the goddess of, 110, 133
- Hieroglyphics, Hittite, 101
- Hill, G F, on legend of coins of Tarsus, 102 n, 103 goddess Athek, 132 n, on coins of Mallus, 135 n
- Himalayan districts of North-Western India, gardens of Adonis in the, 203
- Humera, the battle of, 93
- Hindoo burial of infants, 74, worship of perpetual fire, 158
- Hinnom, the Valley of, 145
- Hirpini, valley of Amsactus in the land of the, 168
- Hissar District, Punjab, 74
- Hittite costume, 105 sq, 106
- deity named Tark or Tarku, 118
- god of thunder, 109, 133
- gods at Tarsus and Sardes, 151
- hieroglyphics, 101
- priest or king, his costume, 107 sq
- Hittite sculptures at Carchemish, 100, at Ibreez 98 sq, at Euyuk, 100, at Boghaz Keu, 103 sq, at Babylon, 109, at Zenjirli, 109, at Marash, 141, in Lydia, 151
- seals of treaty, 110
- treaty with Egypt, 109 sq
- Hittites worship the bull, 100, 107, their empire, language, etc., 101 sq, traces of mother kin among the, 113 sq
- Hogs sacrificed to goddess of volcano, 182
- "Holy men" in Syria, 59 sq
- Honey and milk offered to snakes, 66
- Honey cakes offered to serpent, 68
- Horned cap worn by priest or god, 100, of Hittite god, 109
- god, Hittite and Greek, 100
- lion, 103
- Horns, as a religious emblem, 24, worn by gods 133 sq
- Hosea on religious prostitution, 43, on the prophet as a madman, 60
- Hot springs, worship of, 170 sq, Hercules the patron of, 173 sq, resorted to by childless women in Syria, 176 sq
- Human sacrifice, substitutes for, 118
- sacrifices in worship of the moon, 57, to the Tauric Artemis, 93, to Diomedes at Salamis, 117, offered at earthquakes, 166
- victims thrown into volcanoes, 182 sq
- Hunger the root of the worship of Adonis, 192
- Hurons, their burial of infants, 71
- Hymns to Tammuz, 6
- Hyria in Cilicia, 29
- Ibans or Sea Dyaks, their worship of serpents, 64 See Sea Dyaks
- Ibreez in Southern Cappadocia, 97 sq, village of, 98 sq, Hittite sculptures at, 98 sq
- , the god of, 97 sq, his horned cap, 134
- Idalium in Cyprus, 36, Melcarth worshipped at, 95
- Ignorance of paternity, primitive, 85 sq
- Ipirra of Central Australia, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 78
- Impregnation of women by serpents, 62 sq, by the dead, 71, by ghosts, 73, by the flower of the banana, 73, supposed, through eating food, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84
- See also Conception
- without sexual intercourse, belief in, 76 sq

- Incense burnt at the rites of Adonis, 190, burnt in honour of the Queen of Heaven, 190
- Incest with a daughter in royal families, reported cases of, 30 sq
- Inconsistency of common thought, 2
- Indri, sacred women (dancing girls) in, 45 sqq, impregnation of women by stone serpents in, 63 sq, burial of infants in, 73 sq, gardens of Adonis in, 199 sqq
- Indian ceremonies analogous to the rites of Adonis, 189
- prophet, his objections to agriculture 69
- Infant sons of kings placed by goddesses on fire, 147
- Infants buried so as to ensure their rebirth, 71, 73 sqq, burial of, at Gezer, 88
- Ingarda tribe of West Australia, their belief as to the birth of children, 84
- Ingleborough in Yorkshire, 123
- Injibandi tribe of West Australia, their belief as to the birth of children, 84
- Insect soul of dead in, 75 sq
- Insensibility to pain as a sign of inspiration, 138 sq
- Inspiration, insensibility to pain as sign of, 138 sq
- , prophetic, under the influence of music, 38 sq, 40 sq, 57
- Iolaus, friend of Hercules 90
- Isa or Parvati, an Indian goddess, 201
- Isaiah, on the king's pyre in Tophet, 145
- Ishtar, great Babylonian goddess, 6, in relation to Tammuz, 6
- (Astarte) and Mylitta, 25
- Isis and the king's son at Byblus, 147
- Iswara or Mahadeva, an Indian god, 202
- Italy, hot springs in, 176, divination at Midsummer in, 214
- Itch of Hercules, 173
- Jamblichus on insensibility to pain as sign of inspiration, 138, on the purifying virtue of fire, 148
- Janus like deity on coins, 135
- Java, the Valley of Poison in, 167 sq, worship of volcanoes in, 183 sq
- Jayi or Jawara, festival in Upper India, 203
- Jebel Hissar, Olba, 122
- Jeremiah, on the prophet as a mad man, 60, on birth from stocks and stones, 86
- Jencho, death of Herod at, 177
- Jerome on the worship of Adonis at Bethlehem, 217
- Jerusalem, mourning for Tammuz at, 7, 11, 14, the Canaanite kings of, 11, the returned captives at, 15, the Destroying Angel over, 16, besieged by Sennacherib, 17, the religious orchestra at 38, "great burnings" for the kings at, 145 sq, the king's pyre at, 145 sq
- John Barleycorn, 191
- Josephus, on worship of kings of Damascus, 10, on the Tyropocon, 146
- Josiah, reforms of king 17, 86
- Juralmukhi in the Himalayas, perpetual fires, 157 sq
- Judah, laments for dead kings of, 13
- Judean maid impregnated by serpent, 63
- Julian the emperor, his entrance into Antioch, 180, 217
- Jupiter Dolichenus 110
- Justice and Injustice in Aristophanes, 173
- Kari of German New Guinea, their belief in conception without sexual intercourse, 76
- Kaukolans, a Tamil caste, 45
- Kautish of Central Australia, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 78
- Kilat el Hosn, in Syria, 60
- Kangra District, Punjab, 74
- Kantavu, a Fiji island, 166
- Kanyteldeis, in Cilicia, 129
- Kara-Bel, in Lydia, Hittite sculpture at, 152
- Kariera tribe of West Australia, their beliefs as to the birth of children, 84
- Karma tree, ceremony of the Mundas over a, 200 sq
- Keb (Geb or Seb), Egyptian earth-god, father of Osiris, 4
- Kedeshim, sacred men, 43, 56, 59, 86, at Jerusalem, 12, in relation to prophets, 59
- Kedeshoth, sacred women, 43, 56, 86
- Kemosh, god of Moab, 10
- Kent's Hole, near Torquay, fossil bones in, 123
- Khasis of Assam, their system of mother kin, 32
- Khyrim State, in Assam, 33
- King of Tyre, his walk on stones of fire, 92 sq
- Kings as priests, 30, as lovers of a goddess, 36 sq, held responsible for the weather and the crops, 150
- , divinity of Semitic, 10 sqq, divinity of Lydian, 149 sqq

kings of Egypt worshipped as gods, 38
 —, Hebrew, traces of divinity ascribed to, 13 sqq
 kingship at Rome a plebeian institution, 32
Kiri-ror, a lyre, 38
Kirauca, volcano in Hawaii, 179 sq, divinities of, 180, offerings to, 180 sqq
Kiriwina, one of the Trobriand Islands, snakes as reincarnations of the dead in, 65
 Kois of Southern India, infant burial among the, 75
Komatia of Mysore, their worship of serpents, 63 sq
Kosio, a dedicated person, 49, 50, 52
Kuklia, Old Paphos, 23, 25
Kundi in Cilicia, 116
Kupalo, figure of, passed across fire at Midsummer, 210 sq, a deity of vegetation, 213
Kupole's festival at Midsummer in Prussia, 213
Labrys, Lydian word for axe, 149
Lagrange, Father M J on the mourning for Adonis as a harvest rite, 192
Lakhubai, an Indian goddess, 204
Lakor, theory of earthquakes in, 163
Lamas River in Cilicia, 120, 121
 Lamentations of Egyptian reapers, 192
 Laments for Tammuz, 6 sq, for dead kings of Judah, 13
Linden, the battle of, 194
Larnax *Lapethus* in Cyprus, *Melcarth* worshipped at, 95
Larrekiya, Australian tribe, their belief in conception without cohabitation, 83
Laurel, gold wreath of, worn by priest of Hercules, 115
 Leaping over Midsummer fires to make hemp or flax grow tall, 211
Lebanon, the forests of Mount, 10, *Aphrodite* of the, 21, *Baal* of the, 22, the charm of the, 195
Lent, the Indian and Puyan, 70
Leprosy, king of Israel expected to heal, 16
Leti, theory of earthquakes in, 163
Lion, deity standing on a, 103, the emblem of the Mother Goddess, 134, as emblem of Hercules and the *Heraclids*, 149, 150, carried round acropolis of Sardes, 151
 —-god at *Boghaz-Keui*, the mystery of the, 111 sq, of *Lydia*, 151
 —-slaying god, statue of, 95
Lions, carved, at gate, 104, as

emblems of the great Asiatic Mother goddess, 110, deities seated on, 132
Lucian on religious prostitution, 43, on the death of *Peregrinus*, 148, on dispute between *Hercules* and *Aesculapius*, 173
Luritcha of Central Australia, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 78
Lycorinan plain, 100
Lycia, Mount *Chimaera* in, 184
Lycus, valley of the, 171
Lydia, prostitution of girls before marriage in, 26, 43, the lion-god of, 151, the Burnt Land of, 159 sq
Lydian kings, their divinity, 149 sqq, held responsible for the weather and the crops, 150
Lyell, Sir Charles, on volcanic phenomena in Syria and Palestine, 185
Lyre as instrument of religious music, 38 sq, 40 sq
Ma, goddess of *Comana* in Pontus, 27
Macrobius, on the mourning *Aphrodite*, 21
Macander, the valley of the, subject to earthquakes, 160, sanctuaries of *Pluto* in the valley of the, 169, 170
Mafuie, the Samoan god of earthquakes, 165
 Magic and religion, combination of, 2
 Magical ceremonies for the regulation of the seasons, 1 sqq
 —-dramas for the regulation of the seasons, 2 sq
Mahadeo and *Parvati*, Indian deities 203, 211
Mahdi, an ancient, 57
Mahratta, dancing girls in, 46
Mallus in Cilicia, deities on coins of, 135 sq
Malta, bilingual inscription of, 11, *Phoenician* temples of, 24
Manichaeans, their theory of earthquakes, 162
Marash, *Hittite* monuments at, 141
Marduk, human wives of, at Babylon, 55
Marks, bodily, of prophets, 58
 Marriage as an infringement of old communal rights, 27, of the Sun and Earth, 33 sq, of women to serpent-god, 50 sqq, of *Adonis* and *Aphrodite* celebrated at Alexandria, 187
 —, sacred, of priest and priestess as representatives of deities, 33 sqq, represented in the rock hewn sculptures at *Boghaz-Keui*, 112

- Marsala in Sicily, Midsummer customs at, 207
 Marseilles, Midsummer custom at, 208 sq
 Merozas and Apollo 41
 Masai, of East Africa, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64, 65 sq
 Masnes, a giant, 153
 Massaya, volcano in Nicaragua human victims sacrificed to, 182
 Massebah (plural *massebo'h*), sacred stone or pillar, 87
 "Matriarchate," 33
 May Day, ceremony at Meiron in Galilee on the eve of, 146
 — pole or Midsummer-tree in Sweden and Bohemia, 210
 Medea and her magic cauldron, 148
 Mefitis, Italian goddess of mephitic vapours, 168, 169
 Magalopolis, battle of gods and giants in plain of, 127
 Megassares, king of Hyria, 29
 Meiron, in Galilee, burnings for dead Jewish Rabbis at, 146 sq
 Mela's description of the Corycian cave, 126
 Melanesia, belief in conception with out sexual intercourse in, 76 sq
 Melcarth, the god of Tyre, identified with Hercules, 11, 89, worshipped at Amathus in Cyprus, 22, 95, the burning of, 89 sqq, worshipped at Gades, 91
 Melchizedek, king of Salem, 11
 Meles, king of Lydia, banished because of a dearth, 150, causes lion to be carried round acropolis, 150
 Melicertes, a form of Melcarth, 91
 Men "of God," prophets, 59
 Mephitic vapours, worship of, 167 sqq
 Mesha, king of Moab, 10, sacrifices his first born, 89
 Messiah, "the Anointed One," 14
 Meteor as signal for festival, 218
 Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, 29
 Michael Angelo, the *Pietà* of, 216
 Midsummer, old heathen festival of, in Europe and the East, 209 sq, divination at, 210 sq
 — bathing, pagan origin of the custom, 209
 — Bride and Bridegroom in Sweden, 211
 — Day or Eve, custom of bathing on, 206 sqq
 — fires and couples in relation to vegetation, 210 sq, leaping over the fires to make flax or hemp grow tall, 211
 Milcom, the god of Ammon, 13
 Milk, serpents fed with, 65 sqq, 68, offered at graves, 68
 Mill, women mourning for Tammuz eat nothing ground in a mill, 191
 Minoan age of Greece, 24
 Miraculous births of gods and heroes, 86
 "Mistress of Turquoise," goddess at Sinai, 25
 Moa theory of earthquakes in, 163
 Morb, Meshu, king of, 10, the wildness of, 38 sq, the springs of Callirrhoe in, 177 sqq
 Mohammedan peoples of North Africa, their custom of bathing at Midsummer 209
 Mo're, sister of Tylon, 152
 Moloch meaning of the name, 10, sacrifices of first born children to, 145
 Moon, human victims sacrificed to the, 57, albinos thought to be the offspring of the, 71
 — god conceived as masculine, 57, inspiration by the, 57
 Moosi, Tongan god who causes earthquakes, 165
 Morning Star, appearance of, perhaps the signal for the festival of Adonis, 218
 Mota, belief as to conception in women in, 76 sq
 Mother Earth, festival in her honour in Bengal, 70
 — Goddess of Western Asia, sacred prostitution in the worship of the, 25, lions as her emblems, 110, 134, her eunuch priests, 170
 — -kin, succession in royal houses with, 31, trace of, at Rome and Nemi, 32, among the Khasis of Assam, 32, among the Hittites, traces of, 113 sq
 — of a god, 37, 38
 — Plastene on Mount Sipylus, 152
 Motlav, belief as to conception in women in, 78
 Moylar, male children of sacred prostitutes, 47
 Mundas of Bengal, gardens of Adonis among the, 200
 Mungarai, Australian tribe, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 80
 Murder of children to secure their rebirth in barren women, 75
 Murli, female devotee, 46
 Music as a means of prophetic inspiration, 37 sq, 40 sq, 57, in exorcism, 40 sq, and religion, 39 sq
 Mycenae, royal graves at, 23, 24
 Mycenaean age of Greece, 24

- Mylitta, Babylonian goddess, sacred prostitution in her worship, 25
 Myrrha or Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, 30, 190
 — tree, Adonis born of, 189
 Mysore, the Komatus of, 63

 Naaburg, in Bavaria, custom at sewing at, 199
 "Naaman, wounds of the," Arab name for the scarlet anemone, 188
 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, 142
 Naga, serpent god, 63
 Naga padohi, the agent of earthquakes, 164
 Nahr Ibrahim, the river Adonis, 9, 20
 Namal tribe of West Australia, their belief as to the birth of children, 84
 Names, royal, signifying relation to deity, 10 sqq, Semitic personal, indicating relationship to a deity, 37
 Nandi, the, of British East Africa, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64, 66
 Naples, custom of bathing on St John's Eve at, 206
 Nemi, Dianus and Diana at, 32
 New Britain, theory of earthquakes in, 165
 — Guinea, German, the Kai of, 76, the Tami of, 163
 — World, bathing on St John's Day in the, 209
 — Zealand, Rotomahana in, 171
 Newman, J. H., on music, 39 sq
 Ngai, God, 52
 Ngoni, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64
 Nias, conduct of the natives of, in an earthquake, 166
 Nicaragua, Indians of, sacrifice human victims to volcanoes, 182
 Nineveh, the end of, 142
 Normandy, rolling in dew on St John's Day in, 208
 Northern Territory, Australia, beliefs as to the birth of children in the, 82 sq
 Novitiate of priests and priestesses, 50, 52
 Nullahun tribe of Australia, their belief as to the birth of children, 81
 Nysa, in the valley of the Macander, 169

 Obelisk, image of Astarte, 9
 Obelisks, sacred, at Gezer, 87
 Oeta, Mount, Hercules burnt on, 90, 94, 175

 Oil, holy, poured on king's head, 14, poured on sacred stones, 25, as vehicle of inspiration, 58
 Olba, priestly kings of, 115 sqq, 131, the name of, 118, the ruins of, 122
 Olo Ngadjoe, the, of Borneo, 71
 Olympia, the quack Peregrinus burns himself at, 148
 Olympus, Mount, in Cyprus, 23
 Omphale and Hercules, 149
 Oodeypoor, in Rajputana, gardens of Adonis at, 201 sq
 Oraons of Bengal, their annual marriage of the Sun and Earth, 33 sqq, gardens of Adonis among the, 200
 Orestes at Castabala, 93
 Oriental mind untrammelled by logic, 211
 Orpheus, prophet and musician, 41
 Osiris identified with Adonis and Attis, 22
 Osiris, Adonis, Attis, their mythical similarity, 4
 Oura, ancient name of Olba, 119, 122
 Ourwira, theory of earthquakes in, 164
 Ox substituted for human victim in sacrifice, 117
 Ozieri, in Sardinia, St. John's festival at, 205

 Padmavati, an Indian goddess, 203
 Pagan origin of the Midsummer festival (festival of St John), 209 sq
 Palestine, religious prostitution in, 43
 Palestrina, the harmonies of, 40
 Pampa del Sacramento, Peru, earthquakes in, 163
 Pampas, bones of extinct animals in the, 128
 Pandharpur, in the Bombay Presidency, 203
 Panaghia Aphroditessa at Paphos, 25
 Panku, a being who causes earthquakes, 163
 Paphos in Cyprus, 23 sqq, sanctuary of Aphrodite at, 23 sqq, founded by Cinyras, 29
 Parr, Thomas, 41
 Parvati or Isa, an Indian goddess, 201, 203
 Paternity, primitive ignorance of, 85 sq
 Pele, goddess of the volcano Kirauea in Hawaii, 180 sqq
 Peloponnese, worship of Poseidon in, 167
 Pelops restored to life, 148

- Pennefather River in Queensland, belief of the natives as to the birth of children, 82
- Perasia, Artemis, at Castabala, 137 *sqq*
- Peregrinus, his death in the fire, 148
- Perga in Pamphylia, Artemis at, 24
- Periander, tyrant of Corinth, his burnt sacrifice to his dead wife, 146
- Perigord, rolling in dew on St John's Day in, 208
- Peritius, month of, 90
- Perpetual fires worshipped, 157 *sqq*
- Persephone and Aphrodite, their contest for Adonis, 8
- and Pluto, temple of, 169
- Persian reverence for fire, 143 *sq*
- fire worship and priests, 157
- Personation of gods by priests, 31, 33 *sqq*
- Peru, earthquakes in, 167
- Peruvian Indians, their theory of earthquakes, 166
- Pescara River, in the Abruzzi, 207
- Pescina in the Abruzzi, Midsummer custom at, 207
- Pessinus, priests called Attis at, 113
- Petrarch at Cologne on St John's Eve, 208
- Petrified cascades of Hierapolis, 171
- Pharnace, daughter of Megassares, 29
- Phidias, his influence on Greek religion, 40 "
- Philadelphia, subject to earthquakes, 160 *sq*
- Philosophy, school of, at Tarsus, 96
- Phoenician temples in Malta, 24, sacred prostitution in, 26
- kings in Cyprus, 36
- Phoenicians in Cyprus, 22 *sq*
- Phrygian moon god, 57
- Pietà of Michael Angelo, 216
- Pillars as a religious emblem, 24
- Pindar on the music of the lyre, 41, on Typhon, 126
- Pirates the Cilician, 120
- Plastene, Mother, on Mount Sipylus, 152
- Plotinus, the death of, 67
- Ploughing, Prussian custom at, 199
- Ploughmen and sowers drenched with water as a rain charm, 198 *sq*
- Plutarch on the double headed axe of Zeus Labrandeus, 149
- Pluto, the breath of, 168, places or sanctuaries of, 168 *sqq*, cave and temple of, at Acharaca, 169
- Plutonia, places of Pluto, 168
- Pompey the Great, 19
- Pontus, sacred prostitution in, 27, 43
- Port Darwin, Australia, 82
- Possession of priest or priestess by a divine spirit, 50, 52 *sq*, 56 *sqq*
- Pots of Basil on St John's Day in Sicily, 206
- Pregnancy, causes of, unknown, 72 *sq*, 85 *sq*, Australian beliefs as to the causes of, 78 *sqq*
- Priestess identified with goddess, 182
- Priestesses more important than priests, 31, 33
- Priesthood vacated on death of priest's wife, 31, of Hercules at Tarsus, 115
- Priestly dynasties of Asia Minor, 112 *sq*
- king and queen personating god and goddess, 31
- kings, 30, of Olba, 115 *sqq*, 132, Adonis personated by, 186 *sqq*
- Priests personate gods, 31, 33 *sqq*
- of Astarte, kings as, 18
- of Zeus at the Corycian cave, 116, 125
- Processions carved on rocks at Boghaz-Keui, 105 *sqq*, in honour of Adonis, 187
- Procreation, savage ignorance of the causes of, 85 *sq*
- Profligacy of human sexes supposed to quicken the earth, 35
- Prophecy, Hebrew, distinctive character of, 58
- Prophet regarded as madman, 60
- Prophetic inspiration under the influence of music, 38 *sq*, 40 *sq*, 57
- marks on body, 58
- water drunk on St. John's Eve, 207
- Prophets in relation to *kedeshim*, 59
- , Hebrew, their resemblance to those of Africa, 57 *sq*
- of Israel, their religious and moral reform, 17
- Propitiation of deceased ancestors, 32
- Prostitution, sacred, before marriage, in Western Asia, 25 *sqq*, suggested origin of, 27 *sqq*, in Western Asia, alternative theory of, 42 *sqq*, in India, 45 *sqq*, in Africa, 49 *sqq*
- Provence, bathing at Midsummer in, 208
- Prussia, customs at ploughing and harvest in, 199, divination at Midsummer in, 212 *sq*
- Pteria, captured by Croesus, 104
- Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, 30
- Pumyathon, king of Citium and Idaliun, 36
- Punjaub, belief in the reincarnation of infants in the, 74
- Puppet substituted for human victim, 183
- Purification by fire, 93 *n*, 147 *sqq*

Pygmalion, king of Citium and Idalium in Cyprus, 36

—, king of Cyprus, 29, 36

—, king of Tyre, 36

— and Aphrodite, 36

Pyramus, river in Cilicia, 135, 137, 141 sq

Pyre at festivals of Hercules, 94, at Tarsus, 102, of dead kings at Jerusalem, 145 sq

— or Torch, name of great festival at the Syrian Hierapolis, 117

Python worshipped by the Baganda, 67

— god, human wives of the, 50

"Quail hunt," legend on coins of Tarsus, 102 n

Quails sacrificed to Hercules (Melcarth), 90, migration of, 90

Queen of Egypt the wife of Ammon, 56

— of Heaven, incense burnt in honour of the, 190

Queensland, aborigines of, their beliefs as to the birth of children, 82

Rabbah, captured by David, 13

Rabbis, burnings for dead Jewish, 146

Rain procured by bones of the dead, 14, excessive, ascribed to wrath of God, 15 sq, instrumental in rebirth of dead infants, 75

— charm in rites of Adonis, 197, by throwing water on the last corn cut, 198 sq

Rainbow totem, 81

Rainless summer on the Mediterranean, 130

Rajaraja, king, 45

Rajputana, gardens of Adonis in, 201 sq

Rameses II, his treaty with the Hittites, 109 sq

Ramman, Babylonian and Assyrian god of thunder, 133 sq

Ramsay, Sir W M, on Hierapolis and Hieropolis, 137 n

Ratumambululu, Fijian god of fruit-trees, 70

Reapers, Egyptian, their lamentations, 192

Rebirth of infants, means taken to ensure the, 71, 73 sq, of the dead, precautions taken to prevent, 73

Reform, the prophetic, in Israel, 17

Reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah, 17

Reincarnation of the dead, 64 sq, in America, 71, in Australia, 79 sq

Rekub el, Syrian god, 11

Religion, volcanic, 154 sq

— and magic, combination of, 2, and music, 39

Renan, E., on Adom melech, 11, on the worship of Adonis, 195

Resemblance of the rites of Adonis to the festival of Easter, 214 sq

Resurrection of Hercules (Melcarth), 90

— of Tylon, 152 sq

Rhine, bathing in the, on St John's Eve, 208

Rhodians, the Venetians of antiquity, 161

Ritual of Adonis, 186 sq

Rivers as the seat of worship of deities, 131, bathing in, at Midsummer, 207, 208, 209

Rizpah and her sons, 14

Rock-hewn sculptures at Ibreez, 98 sq, at Boghaz Keui, 105 sq

Roman emperor, funeral pyre of, 102 sq

— genus symbolized by a serpent, 67

Roper River, in Australia, 80, 81

Rose, the white, dyed red by the blood of Aphrodite, 188

Rotomahana in New Zealand, pink terraces at, 171

Russian Midsummer custom, 210 sq

Sacred harlots in Asia Minor, 113

— Marriage of priest and priestess as representing god and goddess, 33 sq, represented in the rock-hewn sculptures at Boghaz Keui, 112

"— men," (*kedeshum*), at Jerusalem, 12, and women, 42 sq, in West Africa, 49 sq, in Western Asia, 56 sq

— prostitution, 25 sq, suggested origin of, 27 sq, in Western Asia, alternative theory of, 41 sq, in India, 45 sq, in West Africa, 49 sq

— slaves, 56, 61

— stocks and stones among the Semites, 86 sq

— women in India, 45 sq, in West Africa, 49 sq, in Western Asia, 54 sq

Sacrifice of virginity, 44

Sacrifices to earthquake god, 166, to volcanoes, 181 sq

Sacrifices, human, offered at earthquakes, 166

Sadyattes, son of Cadys, viceroy of Lydia, 150

Saffron at the Corycian cave, 124, 153

- St George in Syria, reputed to bestow offspring on women, 60, 62, 71
- St John Sweethearts of, in Sardinia, 204 sq
- St John's Day or Eve (Midsummer Day or Eve), custom of bathing on, 206 sqq
- Midsummer festival in Sardinia, 204 sq
- wort gathered at Midsummer, 212 sq
- Saint Maries, Midsummer custom at, 208
- St. Vitus, festival of, 212
- Saints as the givers of children to women 60 sq, 71, 88
- Sal tree, festival of the flower of the, 33
- Salamis in Cyprus, human sacrifices at, 116, dynasty of Teucrids at, 116
- Salem, Melchizedek, king of, 11
- Samal, in North-Western Syria, 10
- Samaria, the fall of, 17
- Samoa, conduct of the inhabitants in an earthquake, 165
- Samuel consulted about asses, 58, meaning of the name, 61
- and Saul, 15
- Sanda Sarme, a Cilician king, 116
- Sandacus, a Syrian, 29
- Sandon of Tarsus, 101 sqq, the burning of, 95 sqq, 102, identified with Hercules, 102, 114, 131, monument of, at Tarsus, 102 n
- (Sandon, Sandes), Cappadocian and Cilician god of fertility, 101
- and Baal at Tarsus, 114 sq, 131
- Sandon, or Sandan, name of the Lydian and Cilician Hercules, 149, 151, a Cilician name, 149
- Sandu'arri, a Cilician king, 116
- Santa Felicità, successor of Mefitis, 169
- Santiago Tepehuacan, Indians of, their custom at sowing, 199
- Santorn, island of, its volcanic activity, 161
- Saracus, last king of Assyria, 142
- Sardanapalus, monument of, at Tarsus, 102 n, his monument at Anchiale, 141, the burning of, 141 sqq
- and Hercules, 141 sqq
- Sardes, captured by Cyrus, 143, lion carried round acropolis of, 150
- Sardinia, gardens of Adonis in, 204 sq
- Sargal, in India, gardens of Adonis at, 203
- Sarpedonian Artemis, 137, 140
- Sasabonsun, earthquake god of Ashantee, 166
- Saul and David, 14
- Saul's madness soothed by music 30, 40
- Sivan, Indian month, 203
- Saxons of Transylvania, harvest custom of the, 198
- Schlinow, in Brandenburg, custom at sowing at, 199
- Scipio, his fabulous birth, 63
- Scotland, harvest custom in, 198
- Sea, custom of bathing in the, on St. John's Day or Eve, 206, 208
- Draks or Ibans of Borneo, their worship of serpents, 64
- Sermons, magical and religious theories of the, 1 sq
- Seleucus Nicator, king, 122
- Selwangi, python god of Baginda, 67
- Semiramis, a form of Ishtar (Astarte), 145, said to have burnt herself, 115
- Semites, agricultural worship Baal as the giver of fertility, 18 sq, sacred stocks and stones among the, 86 sqq
- Semitic gods, uniformity of their type, 97
- kings the divinity of, 10 sqq, as hereditary deities, 37
- personal names indicating relationship to a deity, 37
- worship of Tammuz and Adonis, 4 sqq
- Sennacherib, his siege of Jerusalem, 17
- Serpent as the giver of children, 67
- god married to human wives, 50 sqq, thought to control the crops, 51
- Serpents reputed the fathers of human beings, 62 sqq, as embodiments of Aesculapius, 62 sq, worshipped in Mysore, 63 sq, as reincarnations of the dead, 64 sqq, fed with milk, 65 sqq, 68, thought to have knowledge of life giving plants, 153
- Sesostris, so-called monument of, 152
- Shamash, Babylonian sun god, his human wives, 55
- Shamashshumukin King of Babylon, burns himself, 142, 144
- Shans of Burma, their theory of earthquakes, 163
- Shetan dere, the Devil's Glen, in Cilicia, 121
- Shouting as a means of stopping earthquakes, 162 sqq
- Siam, catafalque burnt at funeral of king of, 146 sq
- Siao, children sacrificed to volcano in, 182 sq
- Sibitti baal, king of Byblus, 10
- Sibyl, the Grotto of the, at Marsala, 207

- Sicily, Syrian prophet in, 57, fossil bones in, 128, hot springs in, 176, gardens of Adonis in, 205, 213 sq, divination at Midsummer in, 212, Good Friday ceremonies in, 215 sq
 Sick people resort to cave of Pluto, 169
 Sicyon, shrine of Aesculapius at, 63
 Sidon, kings of, as priests of Astarte, 18
 Sinai, "Mistress of Turquoise" at, 25
 Sinsharishkun, last king of Assyria, 142
 Sipylus, Mother Plastene on Mount, 152
 Sis in Cilicia, 116
 Sister of a god, 37
 Sizu in Cilicia, 116
 Skin, bathing in dew at Midsummer as remedy for diseases of the, 207, 208
 Slave Coast of West Africa, sacred men and women on the, 49, 52
 Smeroe, Mount, volcano in Java, 184
 Snakes as fathers of human beings, 64, fed with milk, 65 sqq *See also* Serpents
 Sodom and Gomorrah, the destruction of, 185
 Solomon, the Baths of, 60, in Moab, 178 sq
 Son of a god, 37
 Sons of God, 61 sqq
 Sophocles on the burning of Hercules, 90
 Souls of the dead, reincarnation of the, 71 sqq, brought back among the Gonds, 75 sq
 South Slavs, devices of women to obtain offspring, 76
 Sowers and ploughmen drenched with water as a rain charm, 199
 Sowing, Prussian custom at, 198
 Spain, bathing on St John's Eve in, 208
 Spartans, their attempt to stop an earthquake, 161
 — their flute band, 161
 — their uniform red, 162
 Spermus, king of Lydia, 150
 Spirit animals supposed to enter women and be born from them, 77 sq
 — children left by ancestors, 79 sq
 Spirits supposed to consort with women, 71, of ancestors in the form of animals, 64
 Springs, worship of hot, 170 sqq, bathing in, at Midsummer, 206, 207, 208, 209
 Stanikas, male children of sacred prostitutes, 47
 Star of Bethlehem, 218
 — of Salvation, 217
 Stocks, sacred, among the Semites, 86 sqq
 Stones, holed, custom of passing through, 25
 —, sacred, anointed, 25, among the Semites, 86 sqq
 Strabo, on the concubines of Ammon, 56, his description of the Burnt Land of Lydia, 159, on the frequency of earthquakes at Philadelphus, 160
 String music in religion, 40
 Substitutes for human sacrifices, 117 sq, 182 sq
 Succession to the crown under mother-kin (female kinship), 31
 Sundanese, their conduct in an earthquake, 162
 Sugar bag totem, 81
 Suicides, custom observed at graves of, 73
 Suk, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64, 66
 Sullu at Aedepsus, 175
 Sumatra, the Bataks of, 164
 Sumerians, their origin and civilization, 5
 Summer on the Mediterranean rainless, 130
 — festival of Adonis, 188
 Sun, temple of the, at Baalbec, 133, Adonis interpreted as the, 190
 — and earth, annual marriage of, 34 sq
 — god annually married to Earth-goddess, 34 sq
 Sweden, May-pole or Midsummer-tree in, 210, Midsummer bride and bridegroom in, 211
 "Sweethearts of St John" in Sardinia, 204 sq
 Sword, girls married to a, 45
 Syria, Adonis in, 9 sqq, "holy men" in, 59 sq, hot springs resorted to by childless women in, 176 sqq, subject to earthquakes, 185
 Syrian god Hadad, 10
 — peasants believe that women can conceive without sexual intercourse, 71
 — women apply to saints for offspring, 88
 Tā uz (Tammuz), mourned by Syrian women in Harra, 191
 Talaga Bodas, volcano in Java, 168
 Tami, the, of German New Guinea, their theory of earthquakes, 163
 Tamil temples, dancing girls in, 45
 Tamirads, diviners, 29

- Tammuz, 4 *sqq*, his worship of
Sumerian origin, 5 *sq*, meaning
of the name, 5, "true son of the
deep water," 5, 206, laments for,
6 *sq*, the month of, 191, mourned
for at Jerusalem, 7, 11, 14, 15
corn spirit, 191, his bones ground
in a mill and scattered to the wind,
191
— and Ishtar, 5 *sq*
Tanjore, dancing girls at, 45
Tantalus murders his son Pelops,
148
Tark, Tarku, Trok, Troku, syllables
in names of Cilician priests, 116,
perhaps the name of a Hittite deity,
118, perhaps the name of the god
of Olba, 118, 135
Tarkimos, priest of Corycian Zeus,
116
Tarkuaris, priest of Corycian Zeus,
116, priestly king of Olba, 116
Tarkumbios, priest of Corycian Zeus,
116
Tarsus, climate and fertility of, 96,
school of philosophy at, 96, Sandan
and Baal at, 114, 131, priesthood
of Hercules at, 115, Fortune of
the City on coins of, 134, divine
triad at, 140
—, the Baal of, 95 *sqq*, 132 *sq*
—, Sandan of, 101 *sqq*
Taurus mountains, 97
Tegea, tombstones at, 68
Telamon, father of Teucer, 116
Tengereese of Java sacrifice to
volcano, 183
Ternate, the sultan of, his sacrifice of
human victims to a volcano, 183
Teucer, said to have instituted human
sacrifice, 117
— and Ajax, names of priestly
kings of Olba, 116 *sq*, 118, 131
Teucer, son of Tarkuaris, priestly
king of Olba, 122
—, son of Telamon, founds Salamis
in Cyprus, 116
—, son of Zenophanes, high priest
of Olbian Zeus, 122
Teucrids, dynasty at Salamis in
Cyprus, 116
Thebes in Egypt, temple of Ammon
at, 56
Thermopylae, the hot springs of, 173
sqq
Thesmophoria, sacrifice to serpents
at the, 68
Thets and her infant son, 147
Thonga, Bantu tribe of South Africa,
their belief in serpents as reincarna-
tions of the dead, 64
Threshold, burial of infants under the,
73 *sq*
Thunder and lightning, sacrifices to,
128, the Syrian Assyrian, Baby-
lonian, and Hittite god of, 133 *sq*
— god of the Hittites, with a bull
and an axe as his emblems, 107 *sq*
— totem, 80
Thunderbolt as emblem of Hittite god,
109, 110, as divine emblem 133
— and ears of corn, emblem of god
Hadad 133
Thymbria, sanctuary of Chiron at,
169
Tiglath Pileser III, king of Assyria,
10, 11
Timor, theory of earthquakes in, 162
Tiru Kallikundram, dancing girls at,
45
Titane, shrine of Aesculapius at, 63
Tongans, their theory of an earth-
quake, 165
Tophet, at Jerusalem, 145
Toulon, Midsummer custom at, 208
sq
Tozer, H. F., on Mount Argaeus, 157
Tralles in Lydia, 26
Transylvania, harvest customs among
the Roumanians and Saxons of, 198
Travancore, dancing girls in, 47 *sqq*
Tree decked with bracelets, anklets,
etc., 200
Trees, spirit children awaiting birth
in, 79, sacrificial victims hung on,
117
Triad, divine, at Tarsus, 140
Trident, emblem of Hittite thunder-
god, 109, emblem of Indian deity,
139
Trobriands, the, 65
Trokoarbasis, priest of Corycian
Zeus, 116
Trokombigremis, priest of Corycian
Zeus, 116
Tulava, sacred prostitution in, 46
Tully River, in Queensland, belief of
the natives as to conception without
sexual intercourse, 81
"Turquoise, Mistress of," at Sinai, 25
Tusayan Indians, their custom at
planting, 199
Two headed deity, 135 *sq*
Tylon or Tylus, a Lydian hero, 150,
his death and resurrection, 152 *sq*
Typhon slays Hercules, 90, Corycian
cave of, 125 *sq*, his battle with the
gods, 159
— and Zeus, battle of, 127
Tyre, Melcarth at, 11, burning of
Melcarth at, 89 *sq*, festival of
"the awakening of Hercules" at,
90, king of, his walk on stones of
fire, 92
—, kings of, their divinity, 11, as
priests of Astarte, 18

- Tyropoeon, ravine at Jerusalem, 146
- Uçayalı River, the Comibos of the, 163
- Uri melech or Adom melech, king of Byblus, 10
- Valley of Hinnom, sacrifices to Moloch in the 145
— of Poison, in Java 167 sq
- Vapours, worship of mephitic, 167 sq
- Vase painting of Croesus on the pyre, 144
- Vegetable and animal life associated in primitive mind, 3
- Vegetation, mythical theory of the growth and decay of, 1 sqq, annual decay and revival of, represented dramatically in the rites of Adonis, 189 sqq, gardens of Adonis charms to promote the growth of, 197 sq, 199 sq, Midsummer fires and couples in relation to, 210 sq
- Venus, the planet, identified with Astarte, 218
- Vernal festival of Adonis, 188
- Victims, sacrificial, hung on trees, 117
- Virbius or Dianus at Nemi, 32
- Virgin mothers, of gods and heroes, 86
- Virginitv, sacrifice of, 44
- Virgins supposed to conceive through eating certain food, 76
- Vitrolles, bathing at Midsummer at, 208
- Volcanic region of Cappadocia, 155 sqq
— religion, 154 sqq
- Volcanoes, the worship of, 179 sqq, human victims thrown into, 182 sq
- Wabondei, of Eastern Africa, their belief in serpents as reincarnations of the dead, 64
- Wailing of women for Adonis, 187
- Wallachia, harvest custom in, 198
- Warramunga of Central Australia, their belief in the reincarnation of the dead, 79
- Water thrown on the last corn cut, a rain charm, 198 sq, marvellous properties attributed to, at Midsummer (the festival of St John), 206 sqq, prophetic, drunk on St John's Eve, 207
— of Life, 6
- Wave accompanying earthquake, 166 sq
- Weavers, caste of, 45
- Wen-Ammon, Egyptian traveller, 10, 58 sq
- Wheat forced for festival, 203, 204, 211 sq, 213
- White roses dyed red by the blood of Aphrodite 188
- Whidah, King of, his worship of serpents, 51
- Winged deities, 135 sq
— disc as divine emblem, 108
- Wives, human, of gods, 45 sqq
- Wogait, Australian tribe, their belief in conception without cohabitation, 83
- Woman feeding serpent in Greek art, 68
- Women pass through holed stones as cure for barrenness, 25, impregnated by dead saints, 60 sq, impregnated by serpents, 62 sqq, fear to be impregnated by ghosts, 73, impregnated by the flower of the banana, 73
- Women's hair, sacrifice of, 26
- W'ororu, man supposed to cause conception in women without sexual intercourse, 84
- Worship of the dead perhaps fused with the propitiation of the corn-spirit, 194
— of hot springs, 170 sqq
— of mephitic vapours, 167 sqq
— of volcanoes, 179 sqq
- "Wounds of the Naaman," Arab name for the scarlet anemone, 188
- Wünsch, R., on modern survivals festivals of Adonis, 206
- Yarilo, a personification of vegetation, 213
- Yehar baal, king of Byblus, 10
- Yehaw melech, king of Byblus, 10
- Youth restored by the witch Medea, 148
- Yungman tribe of Australia, their belief as to the birth of children, 81
- Zas, name of priest of Corycian Zeus, 125
- Zekar baal, king of Byblus, 9
- Zenjurl in Syria, Hittite sculptures at, 109, statue of horned god at, 133
- Zeus, god of Tarsus assimilated to, 96, 114, Cilician deity assimilated to, 116 sqq, 118, 122, the flower of, 152, 153
—, Corycian, priests of, 116, 125, temple of, 126

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